Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
Lyrasis Members and Sloan Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/womansuffragearg00nati

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

1910-1911

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
New York
1971

Year 1910 reprinted from an original copy in the collections of the Alderman Library, University of Virginia

Year 1911 reprinted from an original copy in the collections of the Oberlin College Library

L.C. 19-13098 and L.C. 19-13099

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
A U.S. Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited

Printed in U.S.A.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

1910

National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

DO YOU KNOW?

By

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue :: New York

Subscribe for

PROGRESS

Published monthly by the National Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City. Price 25c. per year.

For Weekly Suffrage News, Read

The Woman's Journal

Edited by Alice Stone Blackwell, at 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. Three months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

JUS SUFFRAGII

The International Suffrage Monthly. $1.00 a year.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Send 10 cents in stamps to National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York, for sample set.

DO YOU KNOW?

DO YOU KNOW what woman suffrage means? and do you know that the question of the right of women to self-government is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world? That working woman suffrage organizations of representative men and women exist in twenty-one countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Iceland, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Russia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United States? This is true, and the status of woman suffrage in many Nations, which are not ordinarily considered by Americans as so progressive as our own, demands that every voter in the United States, as well as every woman, should give intelligent and conscientious examination into the merits of the question.

DO YOU KNOW that the women of New Zealand enjoy full suffrage upon the same

terms as men? That all the women in Australia possess all suffrage rights extended to men?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Finland vote in all elections upon the same terms as men, and that twenty-six women are sitting as members of the Parliament for 1909?

DO YOU KNOW that all the women of Norway over 25 years of age, who possess an annual income of $75 if in the country, or $100 if in the city, or whose husbands possess such an income, are permitted to vote in all elections and are eligible to all offices, including seats in the House of Parliament?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, may vote upon the same terms as men, in all elections except that of members of Parliament, and that the women of the Isle of Man have had full suffrage since 1880? That the women of England have had municipal suffrage since 1869; the women of Scotland since 1881; the women of Ireland since 1898?

DO YOU KNOW that the unmarried women of Sweden with a slight property qualification, may vote in all elections except for members of Parliament? and that all women of Denmark and Iceland have the same privilege?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Wyoming have voted upon the same terms as men since 1869; the women of Colorado since 1893; the women of Utah and Idaho since 1896? Are not the women of other States as worthy of the right of self-government as these?

DO YOU KNOW that the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1907 states that 54,183 girls were graduated in that year in the public high schools and 33,202 boys, or 20,981 more girls than boys? The total number of girls in attendance at the public high schools was 433,961, and the total number of boys was 317,120, or 116,841 more girls than boys. Yet in 1907, according to the same report, there were 8,447,212 boys enrolled in the public schools of the United States, and 8,373,174 girls, or 74,038 more boys than girls, thus demonstrating that a much larger number of girls than boys receive the higher education offered by the public schools.

DO YOU KNOW that the last census, that of 1900, reveals the fact that between the ages of ten and twenty-one, representing school years, there were 117,362 more illiterate males than females? Do you know that if men and women had been equally entitled to the franchise in 1900, there would have been 20,000

fewer illiterates among the women than men, who between the ages of 21 and 24 would have cast their first presidential vote?

DO YOU KNOW that if the same conditions relative to education shall continue for the next twenty years, and women still remain disfranchised, we shall witness the curious spectacle of the more illiterate sex making laws for the less illiterate sex?

DO YOU KNOW that women will add a distinct moral element to the present vote? Is it not true that in every State, the per cent. of women in the penitentiaries and police courts is extremely small as compared to the number of men criminals? Is it not well known that women constitute a minority of drunkards, gamblers, thieves, counterfeiters, etc.? Is it not true that for every prostitute there are at least two men responsible for her immorality? Is it not true that in every immoral institution, and in every factor which tends to handicap the moral progress of society, women are in the minority? Is it not true that in the churches, and in all altruistic and moral movements whose chief motive is the uplifting of humanity, women are in the majority? Why, then, should their votes be feared? Senator Warren, of Wyoming, sums it up when he says: "Wy-

oming women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

DO YOU KNOW that woman suffrage would not increase the foreign vote as some people fear? The total number of male immigrants in 1908 was 506,912, the female immigrants, 275,958. In 1909 the male immigrants were 519,969 and females 231,817. In both years the female immigrants were only 33 per cent. of the total number of immigrants. It is commonly conceded that the immigrants from Northern Europe are much more desirable than those from Southern Europe. Of the former only 3 per cent. are illiterate, while of the immigrants from Southern Europe 32 per cent. are illiterate. Of these less desirable immigrants from Southern Europe only 20 per cent. were women, while of the more desirable immigrants from Northern Europe women form 42 per cent., showing quite conclusively that it would affect the ballot less unfavorably to admit both women and men to the franchise, than men alone.

DO YOU KNOW that there is a steady increase in the per cent. of women wage earners and women in business? In 1880 the women

engaged in gainful occupations were 14.7 per-cent. of the total; in 1890, 17 per cent.; in 1900, 18.8 per cent. Of the one hundred and thirty-one occupations as classified by the Census of 1900 as gainful, women are engaged in all but two: soldiers, sailors and marines; and telegraph and telephone linemen. By way of example there are in the United States, 1,041 women architects; 3,373 clergymen; 786 dentists; 409 electricians; 84 engineers; 2,193 journalists; 1,010 lawyers; 327,614 teachers; 74,153 bookkeepers; 85,246 office clerks; 946 commercial travelers; 1,271 officials in banks; 3,433 manufacturers; 19,988 packers or shippers; 86,118 stenographers; 22,556 telegraph or telephone operators; 323 undertakers; 545 carpenters; 167 masons; 1,759 painters or glaziers; 126 plumbers and gas fitters; 2,779 chemical workers; 1,365 miners or quarrymen; 193 blacksmiths. Why should not the woman worker or woman manager possess the political right to protect her interests that is so readily extended to men?

DO YOU KNOW why men are voters—by what guarantee they hold their right to the ballot? A citizen's right to share in government was theirs by inheritance. Who secured it? What was the plea that won this privilege?

If you wish to go back to the very beginning of modern democracy, we shall find it when the barons of England, holding vast estates, and furnishing the wealth that supported English wars, demanded of King John a share in his power, and enforced their demand with the ultimatum: "No division of power, no more taxes from our estates." The king yielded, and the *Magna Charta* was written. It gave no rights to the masses of the people, but an imperial monarchy became a baronial aristocracy. The king and the barons ruled the people. Later, those barons were forced to divide their power with the smaller nobles; and the nobility, an aristocracy of birth, and of position emanating from the king, ruled the people. Later, the nobility divided its power with the rich merchants, and an aristocracy of wealth became the ruling power. In many countries of the old world, rich women voted upon this basis of power.

DO YOU KNOW that in the colonies only taxpayers were voters; that many additional restrictions were put upon voters, such as nativity, moral and religious qualifications? Then came the great Revolution with its war cry "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Yet few, if any, applied this axiom to indi-

viduals. It was the claim of a colony against a mother country, as Hawaii or the Philippines might make it against the United States today if there were cause.

DO YOU KNOW that when that war was over, a strong movement for the establishment of an empire arose among our forefathers, and that the refusal of George Washington to accept the crown was probably the one cause which defeated its success? Do you know that at that time the greatest men in the world believed that all public peace would come to an end; that revolution, mobs, violence and anarchy would be substituted for law and order, if the masses of men should be entrusted with the citizen's right to the ballot? Therefore a conservative government was formed, based upon the opinion that property represented the chief stake in government, and hence that "taxation without representation was tyranny" for individual men as well as for colonies. It was called a republic, but it was in reality an aristocracy of property.

DO YOU KNOW that later a great movement, inspired by the broad views of human liberty held by American statesmen in the early days of government, arose, which in time removed the property qualifications? "Govern-

ments," said they, should "derive their just powers from the *consent* of the governed." The movement did not originate with, nor was it continued by, those who were not taxpayers. No appeal arose from them, no campaign to secure a coveted right to vote was conducted by them. Instead, those who owned property were generous, and argued: "Have we any right to impose laws and conditions upon people who may find them offensive? Who are we, that we should arrogate to ourselves the authority to rule over others? Is not the rule of the majority over the minority more just than the rule of property over no property?" It was a contest severely fought, but the victory came in time. Yet it was a hundred years from the date when the first original State removed the tax qualification before the last one did, so reluctant is power to divide its authority.

DO YOU KNOW that even yet there was no republic, but instead an aristocracy of color sprang up into the place of the aristocracy of property, and white men ruled black men, even though free? Later when all black men were emancipated, broad-minded white men said: "Give the black man a chance. The ballot is the only peaceable means of defense, give it to him." And it was done. Later, the ballot was

extended to several tribes of Indians, and now there is practically universal suffrage for men in the United States. Do you know, throughout this century of change, that no argument for the extension of the suffrage to men was ever made except "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"? The unanswerable logic of these two principles is the guarantee by which all men hold their ballots. You are a voter today because your predecessors in the history of the world were willing to divide their governmental authority with you. Brother, will you not remember the Golden Rule, and now do by others as others have done by you?

DO YOU KNOW why women were not included among voters when the government was based upon taxation? Because they were not taxpayers. When a woman married (and there were few unmarried women in those days) all her belongings passed to her husband's possession, and therefore he was recognized as the taxpayer, and often secured the right to a vote upon her property. Nor could a married woman accumulate property, for she was not permitted to control her own wages, nor to go into business on her own account.

DO YOU KNOW why women were not included among the voters when the tax qualifications were removed? Because a married woman was not yet a taxpayer, and could not use her wages. The law did not recognize her as an independent unit of society, but as a servant of her husband. Her wages belonged, not to herself, but to him. If an accident befell her, she could not sue for damages, but her husband could sue in his own name for the loss of her services. When a woman married, she became legally dead. As Blackstone put it, "Husband and wife were one, and that one, the husband." No wonder our statesmen did not include these women, who had no legal existence, among the voters.

DO YOU KNOW that these conditions no longer exist, and that a husband and wife are now two? Married women may now own property. The law no longer recognizes them as the servants of their husbands, but as their equals. What is taxation? The confiscation of private property for public purposes. Who confiscates it? Voters. Is not an opportunity to consent or refuse a just part of such procedure? Is there any reason why the taxation of the non-voter has suddenly become justifiable? Is it not as much tyranny today as in

any other period of American history? Do you say such taxation is fair because some women taxpayers are satisfied to have it so? Is it right to continue a wrong because the persons wronged make small protest?

DO YOU SAY that the women of the United States do not want to vote? Hon. John D. Long, ex-Secretary of the Navy, has said: "If one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the fresh air of heaven, shall I not cross my threshold because the rest of the family group prefer the stale atmosphere indoors?" When the government extends the principle of voting to a citizen, it says to him: "We do not compel you to appear at the polls; we simply give you the liberty to vote, or not to vote, as you desire. You may express your consent or your protest against conditions, and may help make civilization, if you wish." On the other hand, when the government refuses the privilege, it says: "We compel you to remain away from the ballot box. Whether you wish to vote or not, you shall not. We will impose upon you any laws which we see fit, and you shall have no official authority to protest or to consent."

DO YOU KNOW that the movement for woman suffrage is only one phase of the eternal warfare of all the centuries for human liberty? In the Presidential election of 1904 the total vote cast was 13,961,560, while the total number of men eligible to vote as to age qualification was 21,000,000. Shall we disfranchise 14 millions because the seven millions did not vote? The reform party of Philadelphia reports that 49 per cent. of the total vote was not cast in the municipal election of 1903, and in the New York municipal election of the same year the reformers claim that 60,000 registered voters failed to vote. Should all men be disfranchised because some do not vote? Or should all women remain unenfranchised because some do not wish to vote?

DO YOU KNOW that many women are as earnestly anxious to vote as any man in the land? Should not all men and women who are public-spirited and liberty-loving have the privilege of the ballot? Can we expect women to move in the interests of their own self-government, since no class of men has ever done so? Instead the movement to divide official power has always come from those who possessed it, and never through the appeal of the disfranchised. Woman suffrage, like man suffrage,

must come through the generous action of those who now possess the power to give it. In fact, more women, in proportion to their numbers, have asked for the ballot than have men of any disfranchised class in the history of the world.

DO YOU KNOW that, while women are ruled out, the highest intelligence and morality will never be fully represented in any community in its law, since intelligence and morality must always be averaged at the ballot-box with ignorance and immorality? It is plain that wherever intelligence and morality predominate over ignorance and immorality, the trend of civilization must be upward, and since women can offer a higher per cent. of morality, and certainly an equal amount of intelligence with men, it requires no demonstration to show that women will help to make the world better.

DO YOU KNOW that in no State where the people have extended the suffrage to women, and therefore have had opportunities to observe the facts of its actual operation, has there been any effort to repeal such laws? There are people in the States where women vote who were anti-suffragists before women were enfranchised, and who are so still, but every year the number of those who advocate woman suffrage is larger than the year before. Hundreds of

the most representative people, both men and women, have testified time and again in print, over their own names, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which the opponents fear, but instead has brought much positive good. It has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, has rendered homes happier because of more intellectual companionship, has ennobled men and dignified politics. In all the places where women vote, the opponents, thus far, have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results. These are not the vague claims of theorists, but the facts attested by the majority of the most respectable and most representative citizens of the States where women vote. Do you know any logical, sound reason why the intelligence and individuality of women should not entitle them to the rights and the privileges of self-government?

SUBSCRIBE FOR

PROGRESS

Official Organ National American

Woman Suffrage Association

Published monthly at National Headquarters,

505 FIFTH AVENUE,

NEW YORK

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR

Sample set Political Equality Leaflets, 10c.

Why Women Should Vote

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

1. Because it is right and fair that those who must obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who must pay taxes should have a vote as to the size of the tax and the way it shall be spent.

2. Because the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women would be got more easily if women had votes. New York women have worked in vain for years to secure a legislative appropriation to found a State Industrial School for Girls. Colorado women worked in vain for one till they got the ballot; then the legislature promptly granted it.

3. Because laws unjust to women would be amended more quickly. It cost Massachuetts women 55 years of effort to secure the law making mothers equal guardians of their children with the fathers. In Colorado, after women were enfranchised, the very next legislature granted it. After more than half a century of agitation by women for this reform only 14 out of 46 states now give equal guardianship to mothers.

4. Because disfranchisement helps to keep wages down. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor, said in an address delivered at Smith College, on February 22, 1902: "The lack of direct political influence constitutes

a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

5. Because equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—often twice or three times as many. (Report of Commissioner of Education.)

6. Because it would increase the proportion of native-born voters. In three years from June 30, 1900, to June 30, 1903, there landed in the United States 1,344,622 foreign men, and only 561,746 foreign women. (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

7. Because it would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very much, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. *The U. S. census of 1890 gives the statistics of men and women in the state prisons of the different states. Omitting fractions, they are as follows:

In the District of Columbia, women constitute 17 per cent. of the prisoners; in Masachuetts and Rhode island, 14 per cent.; in New York 13; in Louisiana, 12; in Virginia, 11; in New Jersey, 10; in Pennsylvania and Maryland, 9; in Connecticut, 8; in Alabama, New Hampshire, Ohio and South Carolina, 7; in Florida, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico and Tennessee, 6; in Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia, 5; in Arkansas and Delaware, 4; in California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Texas and Vermont, 3; in Colorado, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska and Utah, 2; in Arizona, Kansas, Nevada and South Dakota, 1; in Washington, four-fifths of 1 per cent.; in Oregon and Wisconsin, two-fifths of 1 per cent.; in Wyoming and Idaho, none.

8. Because it leads to fair treatment of women in the public service. In Massachusetts the

---

*For U. S. census prison statistics for 1904, see Political Equality Leaflet, "Some Reasons Why."

average pay of a female teacher is about one-third that of a male teacher, and, in almost all of the states it is unequal. In Wyoming and Utah, the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work. (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614; Revised Statutes of Utah, Section 1853.)

9. Because legislation for the protection of children would be secured more easily. Judge Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile Court, writes in *Progress* for July, 1904: "We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any state in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children. These laws in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage."

10. Because it is the quietest, easiest, most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It takes much less expenditure of time, labor and personal presence to go up to the ballot box, drop in a slip of paper, and come away, than to persuade a multitude of miscellaneous voters to vote right.

11. Because it would make women more broadminded. Professor Edward H. Griggs says: "The ballot is an educator, and women will become more practical and more wise in using it."

12. Because woman's ballot would make it harder for notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. In the equal suffrage states, both parties have to put up men of respectable character or lose the women's vote.

13. Because it would increase women's influence. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, said at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington in February, 1904:

"Instead of women's influence being lessened by the ballot, it is greatly increased. Last year there were so many members of the Legislature with bills that they wanted the club women to indorse that the Social Science department of the State Federation had to sit one day each week to confer with these legislators who were

seeking our endorsement. Club women outside the suffrage states do not have this experience."

14. Because it would help those women who need help the most. Theodore Roosevelt recommended woman suffrage in his message to the New York Legislature. On being asked why, he is reported to have answered that many women have a very hard time, working women especially, and if the ballot would help them, even a little, he was willing to see it tried. Mrs. Maud Nathan, President of the National Consumers' League, said in an address at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington, in February, 1904: "My experience in investigating the condition of women wage-earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the ballot. * * * In the states where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls."

15. Because it is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your adversary particularly objects." Every vicious interest in the country, would rather continue to contend with woman's indirect influence than try to cope with woman's vote.

16. Because experience has proved it to be good. Women have for years been voting, literally by hundreds of thousands, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Utah and Idaho. In all these places put together, the opponents have not yet found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that the results have been bad, while scores of prominent men and women testify that it has done good. An ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory.

Published at National Suffrage headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, New York City.

Objections Answered

by

Alice Stone Blackwell

NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

2 for 5 cents, or 100 for $2.00 postpaid. Published by National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Why Should Women Vote?

THE reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a choice in choosing the law-makers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax, and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, where everybody's interests are concerned, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we cannot suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our states, these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or crim-

inals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

Are Women Represented?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, a widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

Men and Women Different.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to represent women, through kindness and good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a woman to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his good will, he cannot fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his mental or moral ability than it would be a

reflection upon his musical ability to say that he cannot sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become just alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

Women Not Represented in the Laws.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many states of humane and protective legislation, and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories, and in general the imperfect legal safe-guarding of the moral, educational and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our states, the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do to-day.

Is "Influence" Enough?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes, but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women were forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

Mother and Child.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most states, a married mother has literally no legal rights over her own children, so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen to-day, in 34 out of the 46 states of the Union:

A Chinaman had married a respectable Irishwoman. When their first baby was three days old, the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. But the Judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more than half a century, the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal guardianship law has been obtained in only 14 states and the District of Columbia. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by Massachusetts women. In Colorado, after women were given the right to vote, the very next Legislature passed an equal guardianship law.*

*Laws of 1895, page 186.

In Massachusetts, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Relief Corps, the State W. C. T. U., the Children's Friend Society and 64 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." It circulated for years, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts, in 1902, the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal; but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other states has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

The Ignorant Vote.

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice or three times as many. The whole number of boys in attendance at public high schools in the United States in 1905-6 was 305,308; of girls, 417,384. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would

increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

The Foreign Vote.

It would double the foreign vote.

During the three years ending June 30, 1904, there arrived in the United States 2,223,166 immigrants. Of these only 664,527 were women, less than one-third.* There are in the United States more than three times as many native-born women (32,467,041) as there are foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together (10,341,276).** Equal suffrage would largely increase the proportion of native-born voters.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion. Experience shows that until they have become Americanized, the foreign women will not vote. And, after they have become

---

*Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.

**Census of 1900, Vol. II, Pages 17-18.

Americanized, why should they not vote, as well as any one else?

The Criminal Vote.

To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman.

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women. According to the latest tabulated prison statistics of the United States Census (those for 1904), Alabama had in her state prison and state and county penitentiaries, 1,796 men and 94 women; Arizona, 293 men and one woman; Arkansas, 769 men, 23 women; California, 2,359 men, 24 women; Colorado, 848 men, 16 women; Connecticut, 460 men, 14 women; Delaware, 155 men, 5 women; District of Columbia, 41 men, 5 women; Florida, 1,075 men, 30 women; Georgia, 2,243 men, 82 women; Idaho, 139 men, 3 women; Illinois, 2,383 men, 36 women; Indiana, 792 men, no women; Iowa, 832 men, 28 women; Kansas, 2,279 men, 31 women; Kentucky, 1,872 men, 71 women; Louisiana, 1,296 men, 35 women; Maine, 178 men, 5 women; Maryland, 1,389 men, 113 women; Massachusetts, 1,824 men, 39 women; Michigan, 948 men, one woman; Minnesota, 620 men, 12 women; Mississippi, 1,021 men, 28 women; Missouri, 2,091 men, 72 women; Montana, 436 men, 8 women; Nebraska, 322 men, 5 women; Nevada, 91 men, no women; New Hampshire, 157 men, 3 women; New Jersey, 1,402 men, 69 women; New Mexico, 240 men,

7 women; New York, 5,392 men, 313 women; North Carolina, 631 men, 43 women; North Dakota, 149 men, 2 women; Ohio, 1,587 men, 41 women; Oklahoma, 22 men, no women; Oregon, 332 men, 2 women; Pennsylvania, 1,966 men, 35 women; Rhode Island, 388 men, 63 women; South Carolina, 632 men, 28 women; South Dakota, 193 men, 3 women; Tennessee, 1,575 men, 62 women; Texas, 4,073 men, 117 women; Utah, 171 men, 2 women; Vermont, 259 men, 15 women; Virginia, 1,478 men, 68 women; Washington, 791 men, 4 women; West Virginia, 982 men, 32 women; Wisconsin, 608 men, 12 women; Wyoming, 189 men, 3 women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offenses, women constitute only five and one-half per cent. of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

The Bad Women's Vote.

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America the bad women are so few, compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of

the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, ex-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and also for some years president of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, writes:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

Don't Understand Business.

A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a state.

Women have a vote in every other corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as

a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but, if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago, a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for twenty years." The answer was good, as a joke; but, as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide-mud into solid ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candle-stick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose school teachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business, at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special

knowledge in regard to some important departments of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience, men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need, as voters, is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

Division of Labor.

The growth of civilization is marked by an increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward.

The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves, and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and in addition making butter, cheese and candles, as our great-grandmothers did. This work is now sub-divided among a number of specialists. On the other hand, in the old times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. To-day, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four.

But this objection about the sub-division of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor,

in the sense of a trade or profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

Would Lose Their Influence.

Women would lose their influence.

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has any of these means of influence now would still have them if she had a vote, and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened and he begged them not to do it. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got all his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits, he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight he had before, and a great deal more besides. A woman after enfran-

chisement would have all the personal influence she has now, and political influence in addition. One thing is certain: Every vicious interest in this country, to which women are hostile, would rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than to try to cope with women's vote.

Cease to be Respected.

Women would cease to be respected.

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, writes: "Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow-citizens."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Today a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years."

Mrs. A. Watson Lister, secretary of the Woman's National Council of Australia, says:

"One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I

do not remember any such thing happening before, in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the Prime Minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes." (Woman's Journal, Feb. 13, 1904.)

Would Make Women Partisans.

Women can do more good now than if they had a vote, because now they are non-partisan. If they became voters, their nonpartisan influence would be lost.

Women continue to be non-partisan after they have the ballot, and it gives them more power to secure the good things which the women of all parties want.

Prof. Henry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, says in an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale, of Iowa, that he went to Colorado opposed to equal suffrage, but has been converted by what he has seen of it. Prof. Kelly adds:

"Experience clearly shows that women's interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. Their interests center around questions affecting education, public cleanliness,

public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries—and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for office, but women will not see them obscured by anything."

Ellis Meredith of Denver writes:

"There has never been a party measure espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things, and have worked for them together, in perfect harmony. They wanted a pure-food law, and secured one from the last Legislature, in line with the national legislation. They wanted civil service reform, and have obtained that, so far as the officers of the State institutions are concerned. During the last Legislature, an attempt was made to take the control of the State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection away from the Colorado Humane Society, and to create a political board. Every federated woman's club in the State besieged its senators and representatives to vote against the bill, and the vice chairmen of the state central committees of the two chief political parties (both of them women) went together to different members of the Legislature to enter their protest. Men understand that in legislative matters, when they oppose the women, they are opposing practically all the women,

and the great independent vote of the State." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 31, 1907.)

Opposition of Women.

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it, and the majority ought to rule:

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe says:

"The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor. Out of our 46 states only four have Anti-Suffrage Associations. Tiny anti-suffrage 'committees' exist in four states more. There are Suffrage Associations in 33 states and several territories.

"In New York, at the time of the last constitutional convention, the suffragists secured more than 300,000 signatures to their petitions; the anti-suffragists, only 15,000. The woman suffrage petitions presented to the recent constitutional convention in Michigan bore 175,000 signatures. There were no petitions on the other side. In Chicago, not long ago, 97 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for a woman suffrage clause in the new city charter, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, Iowa, Kansas, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally

out-numbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts in 1895), the women's vote was in favor of suffrage 25 to one.

"Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 1, 1908.)

Already Over-Burdened.

Women are already over-burdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer says:*

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most —only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently, and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now.

*Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women.

"The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women, and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties."

Women and Office-Holding.

If women vote, they must hold office.

When we say that women would be eligible to hold office, what do we mean? Simply that if a majority of the people in any place would rather have a woman to hold a certain position than any one else, and if she is willing to serve, they shall be allowed to elect her. Women are serving as officials already; some of the women most prominent in opposing equal suffrage have been holders of public office. The late president of the "Massa-

chusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" (Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot) was for years a member of the school board of Brookline, and also Overseer of the Poor. Yet that Association, in its published documents, objects to equal suffrage on the ground that "suffrage involves the holding of office, and office-holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Suffrage does not involve office-holding by the majority of women, but only by a few; and there are always some women of character and ability who could give the necessary time. Women, as a class, have more leisure than men.

In the enfranchised states there has been no rush of women into office, and the offices that women do hold are mainly educational and charitable. In Wyoming women have had full suffrage for 39 years, yet no woman has ever been a member of the Legislature. Neither Colorado, Utah nor Idaho has ever had more than three women in the Legislature at one time.

Ballots and Bullets.

If women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who were able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some

better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight. All men over 45 are exempt from military service, yet they vote. Col. T. W. Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the civil war, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680, of lawyers, 544.*

"Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

Again, it must be remembered that some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the state all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms."

---

*Medical statistics of the Provost General's Bureau quoted by Col. T. W. Higginson in "Common Sense about Women," page 365.

Can Laws Be Enforced?

Laws could not be enforced unless the majority of legal voters represented the majority of possible fighters.

But thousands of male non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box, and there is no certainty at any election that the majority of voters represents a majority of possible fighters. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are as well enforced in the enfranchised states as in adjoining states where women have no vote.

Where women have school suffrage their votes occasionally turn the scale, but there is never any attempt to install the defeated candidates by force. Where women have the full ballot, they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. This particular objection is a libel on American manhood.

Will It Increase Divorce?

It will lead to family quarrels and increase divorce.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of Western States, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about

half as fast as the population. "An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory."

A father sometimes turns his son out of doors for voting the wrong ticket, but among American men this is rare. Where such a case does arise, it is to be met by educating the domestic despot, not by disfranchising all the members of the family but one. A couple who are sensible and good-tempered will not quarrel if they are once in a while unable to think alike about politics. A couple who are not sensible and good-tempered are sure to quarrel anyway—if not about politics, then about something else.

The Question of Chivalry.

It will destroy chivalry.

Justice would be worth more to women than chivalry, if they could not have both. A working girl put the case in a nutshell when she said. "I would gladly stand for twenty minutes in the street car going home, if by doing so I could get the same pay that a man would have had for doing my day's work." But women do not have to stand in the street cars half as often in Denver as in Boston or in New York. Justice and chivalry are not in the least incompatible. Women have more freedom and equality in America than in Europe, yet American men are the most chivalrous in the world.

Known By Its Enemies.

It would increase the corruption of politics.

Those who thrive upon the corruption of politics do not think so. The ignorant, vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women.

Too Emotional.

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs, read a paper in which she said:

"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment.

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like a death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like

Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-saleable commodity.

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

What Is the Unit?

The political unit is the family.

The childless widower, the unmarried boy of 21, and the confirmed old bachelor of 90 have votes; the widow with minor children has none. Under our laws the political unit is not the family, but the male individual. The unequal number of grown persons in different families would make it impossible to treat the family as the political unit.

Women's Small School Vote.

The smallness of women's school vote shows that they would not use the full ballot.

The size of men's vote is just in proportion to the size of the election. At presidential elections it is very large, at state elections

much smaller, at a municipal election smaller still, and at school elections, wherever these are held separately, only a fraction of the men turn out to vote. The smallness of the woman's school vote is regrettable, but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men!"

In Kansas women were given school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they were given full municipal suffrage. Their vote at once became much larger, and has increased at successive elections.

In Colorado women were given school suffrage in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they were given the full ballot, and on January 31, 1899, the Colorado Legislature declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both Houses, that "during this time (the preceding five years) women have exercised the privilege as generally as men."

The women's school vote has completely disproved the fear that the bad women would be the first to rush to the polls. In answer to the prediction that the best women will not vote, Col. Higginson says:* "In Massachusetts, under school suffrage, the complaint has been that *only* the best women vote."

*The Nonsense of It.

Will Women Vote?

Women will not vote or will cease to vote after the novelty has worn off.

In Wyoming, women have had full suffrage since 1869. The Wyoming Secretary of State, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, says that 90 per cent. of them vote. (Woman's Journal, May 6, 1905.)

The Colorado Secretary of State, in a letter to Mrs. Charles Park of Boston, says that 80 per cent. of Colorado women register, and about 72 per cent. vote. (Woman's Journal Aug. 20, 1908.)

The Chief Justice of Idaho and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement that "the large vote cast by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 20, 1908.)

In Australia, at the last Federal election, 628,235 men voted and 431,033 women. (Progress, December, 1907.)

When woman suffrage was granted in New Zealand in 1893, the estimated number of women in the country was 139,915. Of these, 109,461 registered to vote; and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial Parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046. (Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, President New Zealand Council of Women, in "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.")

The majority of the women had never asked for suffrage, in any of these places.

A Growing Cause.

Opposition to woman suffrage is growing. In Oregon a larger proportional vote was cast against the suffrage amendment in 1908 *than in* 1906 *or* 1900.

There are now five states in which woman suffrage has been submitted to the voters more than once, at intervals of some years. In four of the five, the latest vote was the most favorable to woman suffrage; in one, it was the other way.

In Colorado, when woman suffrage was submitted the first time, it was defeated; the second time, it was carried.

In Kansas, the first time, it received only 9,100 votes; the second time, it received 95,302.

In the State of Washington, the first time, the majority against it was 19,386; the second time, it was only 9,882.

In South Dakota, the first time, the adverse majority was 23,610; the second time, it dropped to 3,285.

Since on their latest vote four states show a gain for woman suffrage, while only one shows a retrogression, it is clear that growth of the cause is the rule, and that the result in Oregon was due to exceptional local circumstances. Which ought to carry the more weight, four states or one?

The Oregon Vote.

The increased adverse vote in Oregon was due to the Anti-Suffrage Association formed by Oregon women, and to the bad results of equal suffrage in the neighboring states of Idaho and Colorado.

Oregon is the only state where a woman suffrage amendment has been submitted more than twice. There it has been submitted four times. Its first submission was in 1884, before any Anti-Suffrage Association had been formed, and before either Idaho or Colorado had granted the ballot to women. At that time it received a smaller proportional vote than it has ever received since. In 1884 it was defeated by a vote of 28,176 to 11,223—almost three to one. In 1908 the vote against it was 58,670 to 36,858—much less than two to one.

The Test of Experiment.

It works badly in practice.

Women now have the full ballot in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, New Zealand, Australia, Finland and Norway. They have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, many of the English colonies, Sweden and Denmark. In some of these countries they have had it for generations.

In all these places put together, the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results.

This is the more remarkable in view of the

fact that the active Anti-Suffrage Associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage states testify that the results are good.

In Wyoming, women have had the full ballot for 39 years. For the last 20 years, the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge, inviting its opponents to find, in all Wyoming, two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

Doubling the Vote.

It would only double the vote without changing the result.

If letting women sing in church merely doubled the volume of sound, it would still be a good thing, because it would double the number of persons who had the lung exercise and the inspiration of joining in a good hymn and it would make the chorus stronger. If equal suffrage merely doubled the number of voters, it would still do good, because to take an interest in public affairs would give women mental stimulus and greater breadth of view; and it would also bring to bear on public problems the minds of an increased number of intelligent and patriotic citizens. But the great advantage of women in music is that they add the soprano and alto to the

tenor and bass. If women were exactly like men, equal suffrage would merely double the vote. But women are different from men; and women's voices in the state, like women's voices in the choir, would be the introduction of a new element. This is recognized even by opponents, when they express the fear that equal suffrage would lead to "sentimental legislation."

Men are superior to women along certain lines, and women superior to men along certain others. The points of weakness in American politics at present are precisely the points where women are strong. There is no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or "smartness" of any kind. There is a dangerous lack of conscience and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more especially to men, are well and shrewdly looked after; the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more especially to women, are apt to be neglected.

Not a Natural Right.

Suffrage is not a natural right.

It is hard to define just what a "natural right" is. Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "If all women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural or inherent right, but one given by society, and which society might therefore control as it saw fit. A great many rights

are given by society, of which, however, it would be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex."

Too Many Voters.

We have too many voters already.

This only means that we have too many voters of the wrong kind. If to increase the number of voters were an evil in itself, every woman who becomes the mother of half a dozen sons would have done harm to her country. But if all six grow up to be good voters she has conferred a benefit on her country. So she has if five of them become good voters, and only one a bad voter. Woman suffrage would bring in at least five good voters to one bad one.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The Governor of one of the enfranchised states writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

Would Unsex Women.

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfran-

chisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and our own equal suffrage states are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

Women Do Not Want It.

Whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage, they will get it.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Eliza-

beth Blackwell began to study medicine, the women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history with what ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

In eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor, even by those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, be-

cause they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day, if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

Eminent Opinions
on
Woman Suffrage

Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage

In the administration of a State, neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—*Plato.*

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

I believe in the rights of the woman just as much as I do in those of the man, and, indeed, a little more. * * * She can do the best work in her home if she has healthy outside interests and occupations in addition.—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

Because women consider the government men's affair, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they bear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death-rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives.—*Jane Addams.*

Women are working for civic betterment, and their interest in affairs of the kind is constantly increasing. I believe that woman suffrage will come eventually. There is one fundamental principle that applies to the whole thing — under a representative form of government the interests of any particular set of people are more likely to be advanced when represented by one of themselves than by one of another class, no matter how altruistic.—*Hon. William J. Taft.*

If the women of New York City had the ballot they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.—*Mark Twain.*

Suppose, for the sake of argument, we accept the inequality of the sexes as one of nature's immutable laws; call it a fact that women are inferior to men in mind, morals and physique. Why should this settle or materially affect the subject of so-called Woman's Rights? Would not this very inferiority be a reason why every advantage should be given to the weaker sex, not only for its own good, but for the highest development of the race?—*Huxley.*

The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws she ought to have a voice in making

them. And the assumption that she is not fit to vote is no better reason for denying her that right than was the similar assumption which has been urged against every extension of the franchise to enfranchised men.—*Henry George.*

Woman has as much interest as man in controlling the government, in legislation and in voting taxes. That means that she has the right to political suffrage.—*Max Nordau.*

For over forty years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government, demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women.—*J. G. Whittier.*

Prior to women's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view of (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband and her present or prospective family.—*G. W.*

Russell, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand.

I have been asked why I believe in woman's suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.—*Brand Whitlock.*

To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.—*John Stuart Mill.*

After all democracy is not a matter of sex, any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would of course recognize the equal rights of women.—*Tom L. Johnson.*

I am in favor of woman suffrage.—*Phillips Brooks.*

With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.—*Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.*

At our first election, before women voted, we had a perfect pandemonium. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed, and has prevailed ever since. In caucus discussions, the presence of a few ladies is worth more than a whole squad of police.—*Hon. John W. Kingman, of Wyoming Supreme Court.*

I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has indorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote; that is, a suffrage equal to that now enjoyed by men.

It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the making of those laws, under which he or she is governed. I have always stood for the square deal, and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage question as I see it.—*John Mitchell, Ex-President United Mine Workers of America.*

I have repeatedly in public and in private declared my belief in equal suffrage. Certainly I think there can be little room for argument that the women of the United States with their broad culture and strong symupathies are equally entitled to every suffrage that the men of the country now enjoy.—*John V. Johnson, Governor of Minnesota.*

In the progress of civilization, woman suffrage is sure to come.—*Charles Sumner.*

I can state from experience and observation that (municipal) woman suffrage is satisfactory in its results in every respect.—*Ex-Chief Justice Albert H. Horton of Kansas.*

If we could manifest a little animation about the antique injustice that we still do to woman perhaps we should, in time, get tired of being ruled and robbed by pirates, thieves, bosses, boodlers, millionaires, swindlers, poisoners, pickpockets, railroad senators and other criminals. But so long as we keep out of the suffrage the element that would purify it I don't know but we get about what we deserve.—*Charles Edward Russell.*

It is a very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. * * * If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

Over and above all suffrage is woman's right, and no fair, just man will deny her that right. While we may defend equal suffrage upon the ground of expediency, it is not a question of expediency but of justice.—*Alva Adams, Ex-Governor of Colorado.*

I know full well the prejudice of ignorance and superstition, and knowing it I, for one,

mean to face it and to challenge it, and to demand for women the right to vote.—*U. S. Senator Robert L. Owen.*

The correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God. —*John Quincy Adams.*

I am in hearty sympathy with the woman's suffrage movement. I think the women of Chicago are as intelligent and as much entitled to the suffrage as are the women of Denver, which city seems entirely satisfied with the practical results of woman suffrage.—*Ex-Mayor Edward F. Dunne, Chicago.*

Woman suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and I for one expect a great deal of good to result from it.—*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.*

When man is placed, a wailing infant, in our arms, we receive him as the greatest treasure in the world; we feed him until he can feed himself; later we invent a language to amuse him; all through life we are his best friends. Yet men are still afraid that if they gave us the franchise we might make some bad use of it, though we assure them that we would not, and that we would perform all our motherly and wifely duties as well as ever.—*Caroline E. Merrick.*

I take it America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause is won.—*Wendell Phillips.*

There is a French saying that "it is the women who make the morals of a country." This is not true; so long as men alone make the laws. For the law is a mighty teacher of morality or immorality, justice or injustice.—*Josephine E. Butler.*

I hope and pray that we may see this come to pass soon, (the right of women to vote). In this fuller citizenship there is no chance that woman would unsex herself. I believe that the paths she would walk in would not only be brightened by her presence, but that they would be straightened.—*Bishop McVickar.*

We have admitted woman's right to property and education. It is then only a question of time until we admit her right to the ballot; for by it she can best protect the one and express the other. It seems to me that in this fact of woman's admission to property and education the gist of the whole matter lies.—*Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D. D.*

I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.—*Samuel Gompers.*

The most important reason why women should have the right to vote is because they need the ballot for their own protection from crime, disease, starvation, ignorance and manifold other dangers.—*Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Justice of the Peace.*

The woman suffrage movement is but part of the wider movement for democracy, which from the intellectual point of view means education and enlightenment for all classes and conditions of humankind, and which means, from the moral point of view, social justice.—*Dr. Raymond V. Phelan, University of Minnesota.*

My experience in investigating the condition of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box. In the states where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.—*Mrs. Maud Nathan of the Consumers' League.*

Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police

and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men.—*Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, National Prison Commissioner.*

The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs and the old cry of "Inopportune." So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions. The cause is just. It may be defeated today, but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious.—*Father Scully.*

When we seriously attempt to show that a woman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws should have no voice in framing those laws, it is not easy. If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic.—*Hon. H. B. Anthony, R. I.*

If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot-box? —*Frances E. Willard.*

It is grotesque to claim that a great many

women are not better trained and more intelligent for the use of the ballot than millions of men. Especially women who own property should have a voice in the affairs of the community and the laws which affect property.—*Bishop Potter (Episcopal.)*

I have never regarded the desire (now as wide-spread as civilization itself) that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.—*Olive Schreiner.*

Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.—*Professor Wm. T. Harris.*

In my opinion suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.—*William Dean Howells.*

The real reason why the right of suffrage is denied to women is because there is just trace enough of ancient barbarism lingering in our civilization to bar them out. If the right to vote were altogether a new right, conferred on the people this year for the first time, there would be no more question of granting it to

both men and women than of permitting both boys and girls to attend the public schools.—*Hon. John D. Long.*

Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing woman suffrage.—*Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, former Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming.*

By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves and make certains regulations for protection; and that is politics. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.—*Prof. John Graham Brooks.*

If the principle on which we founded our government is true, that taxation must not be without representation, and if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the State by their votes. * * * I think the State can no more afford to dispense with the votes of women in its affairs than the family.—*Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

It is strange that the mother who is capable of caring for the welfare of a child in the home cannot do so in the State. I am glad that Oregon has been chosen as the place for your convention. I hope that this State will give women the ballot and I hope that every State will do it.—*Governor George E. Chamberlain of Oregon.*

The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government.—*Ex-Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey of Kansas.*

The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also.—*Laura Clay.*

Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable, and in much that is advantageous.—*U. S. Senator Teller of Colorado.*

You may state most positively that woman suffrage in Idaho purifies politics. The woman vote has compelled not only State Conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.—*Ex-Gov. Hunt of Idaho..*

In the great Empire State of the greatest Republic in history, the present woman is still politically on a level with the vilest criminal and the most driveling imbecile. Woman is

bound to the mound of the debris of all the ages — the debris of false conventions, outworn lies and useless labors. By a senseless servitude to useless things she is prevented from giving her offspring the intelligent care which otherwise would be possible. By ties which bind her to false ideas of sex, a cruel and vain standard of sex ethics, she is doomed to nourish blindly and ignorantly the offspring she as blindly and ignorantly bears.—*John Spargo.*

Under equal suffrage, there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.—*Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker.*

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.—*Dr. M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College.*

It is argued that foreign women are not fit to have the ballot. The foreign women are

usually better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is given.—*Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin.*

In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion.—*Bishop Bowman.*

If we are ever going to have a state of society whose progress shall be up and not down, I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.—*Hon. Thomas W. Palmer.*

When you were weak and I was strong, I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my sex. As I stood by you, I pray you stand by me and mine.—*Clara Barton to the Soldiers.*

If women can stand side by side with men in the halls of learning, why not in the life outside? Our educated women are pouring out of our institutions of learning in long processions. Why not open the larger doors of public usefulness, and let them help to solve the pressing problems of the time?—*Dr. Wm. E. Huntington, President of Boston University.*

Voting would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful stimulus to female education. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social, moral and educational rights. * * * Women's vote would be to the vices in our great cities what the lightning is to the oak. * * * I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay.—*Joseph Cook.*

Today a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened is in itself an incalculable benefit.—*Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, President New Zealand Council of Women.*

Women should have suffrage on the same terms as men, not because they are women, but because they are human beings. It seems to me absolute inequity, as well as folly, to keep them out of a right which will so manifestly minister to the well-being of society through government.—*Rev. Nathan E. Wood, D. D., Pres. Newton Theological Institute.*

The new suffrage law of Finland gives all women over 24 years of age the parliamentary vote and makes them eligible on exactly the same terms as men. Ever since the step was taken the men have behaved admirably. Our

male co-workers aid us and advise us in the kindest and most fraternal way.—*Baroness Alexandria Gripenberg.*

Women need the ballot, because in these days of clubs and associations they are learning more about their obligations to society, and the great burdens it has to bear. Today the community needs the most faithful work of all women who may have any capacity whatever, and every strong woman wishes to do her full share of such work.—*Mrs. Emily A. Fifield.*

In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask, can we maintain universal suffrage? I say no, not without the aid of women.—*Bishop Gilbert Haven.*

Woman's right to suffrage is so clearly based upon justice that it is only a question of time when it will be granted her, fully and freely.—*Jane Brownlee.*

To raise the political plane of America, we must begin with the children, and gradually raise the tone of the entire population. As the majority of teachers in intelligent communities are women, women should be given the right of suffrage so that they may learn just what to impart to the minds of children.—*Dr. Earl Barnes.*

Women have more time to read and study and are improving their time. Eventually

they will vote and tell the men for whom they shall vote. Eventually all the universities will be coeducational and the women will carry off almost all the prizes.—*Rev. Dr. N. D. Hillis.*

It is difficult to choose names when the list is so long, but it is right to mention among the distinguished women who have been with this movement from the outset, the names of Mrs. Somerville, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Browning, Miss Anna Swanwick, Miss Cobb, Mrs. Grote, Mrs. Ritchie (Miss Thackeray), Mary Carpenter and Mrs. Jameson.—*Millicent Garrett Fawcett.*

We are not a democracy so long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man. Rights are not to be measured by the numbers who want them. So long as there is one woman who wants the right to vote, she is, according to the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, entitled to that right.—*Rabbi Charles Fleischer.*

The disreputable women, in any city of the United States, represent but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120.—*Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob.*

How will woman suffrage help us to hold onto the American ideals that are so precious? Responsibility is the great character builder.

It is said that women do not want to vote. How many of you who have sons and daughters wait until they want to go to school? We send around the truant officer. It is not necessary to wait till all women come in and tell you that they want the education of the ballot.—*Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott.*

I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty. * * * What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?—*Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D. D.*

Some men say that they would protect women from the deterioration of voting. Gentlemen, there is a class of women in this country who are already represented, women who are a power in government, and we who do not belong to that class ask, more than for any other reason, that we may have the right to protect and to defend and to represent at the polls the virtuous women of this county. Today when you attack the saloon in any State of the Union you also attack the brothel; if you attack the brothel you attack the gambling den; and it is this great triple alliance that today stands more than any other against the enfranchisement of women.—*Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.*

The women's votes have generally been cast in favor of good officers and good government. —*D. M. Valentine, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.*

Individual conscience and judgment are the foundation stones of a republican government and a true civilization. Whatever lessens woman's self-respect, or the respect of others for her, is demoralizing to the entire race. The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that sceptre gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent, and virtuous women had the right of suffrage, our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.—*Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.*

It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will defy the politicians and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.—*Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid (Roman Catholic).*

Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slighest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to

protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.—*T. W. Higginson.*

I think women are bound to seek the suffrage as a very great means of doing good.—*Frances Power Cobbe.*

I advocate woman suffrage because I believe it to be profoundly reasonable. Women as a whole are as well qualified for the suffrage as men; they have as much at stake, and it cannot be seriously claimed that the extension of suffrage would put a burden upon women which would over-tax their mental or physical strength. It will hardly be called unwomanly. Under the Australian ballot it has become a delightfully feminine function.—*Prof. George G. Gardner of the Boston University Law School.*

I believe in woman suffrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.—*Harriet Prescott Spofford.*

Woman suffrage is not a question of politics; it is a question of statesmanship. Every city is learning that one woman with an interest in politics is worth more than one hundred men with mere interests in politics.—*Meyer Bloomfield.*

Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women.—*Rev. Charles Aked, D. D.*

Private and public life react on each other to such an extent that they are not as separate and distinct as is often thought, and here lies, it seems to me, one good reason for giving women suffrage.—*Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw.*

Women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment. The most noticeable effect in legislation is the advance along humane lines, in the greater protection given to children and animals. The humane laws of Colorado surpass those of any other State or country.—*Dr. Margaret Long.*

All gatherings of women in clubs, assemblies, church guilds, charitable and philanthropic organizations, mothers' conventions and so on, are measures looking to the final triumph of woman suffrage. There is no reason why every discrimination which exists today against women should not be removed. Till then, humanity will never attain the highest, and the ideals which we are cherishing will never be fulfilled.—*Rev. George C. Lorimer, D. D.*

Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing.—*Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, (for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado).*

Since 5,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 5,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.—*Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.*

Suffrage is not a mechanical thing by itself; it is the act of a citizen, and presupposes public aims. I do not plead for a mere mechanical right to put a piece of printed paper into a ballot box. I plead for this right in connection with all it implies; I plead for woman's right to become a full grown human being.—*William M. Salter.*

One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: that in almost every

case they have ignored the rights and powers of one-half the human race—viz., women. I believe that politics will not go right, that society will not go right, that nothing human will ever go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right she must be put in her place, and she must have her rights.—*Charles Kingsley.*

A woman is just as well qualified to cast a vote for every municipal officer in Chicago as any man.—*Bishop Samuel K. Fallows (Episcopal).*

You ask my reasons for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and tax-payer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.—*Florence Nightingale.*

Properly understood, suffrage does not mean the appointing of ward heelers; it means the park system, and public schools, and hospitals, and playgrounds, and public libraries. In matters of this kind we can make no distinction between men and women. Today, to secure the best results in city government, we must have the common service of men and women —*Prof. Charles Zueblin.*

Experience has shown that under the existing charter (of Boston) the voters do not

have a good chance to select honest and capable governors for the city. If some change in the suffrage is thought to be necessary in order to give the new charter a good chance of success, I should favor additions to the present suffrage rather than reductions. Thus, women residents in Boston who pay taxes might be made voters.—*President Eliot of Harvard.*

I am warmly in favor of the ballot for women.—*Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan.*

The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their own views.—*Eliza Calvert Hall.*

One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before, in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived

Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the Prime Minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes.—*Mrs. A. Watson Lister, Secretary of the Women's National Council of Australia.*

I think we must regard suffrage as a privilege, not a right, but it comes naturally to women as a privilege, through the movement for good government. When we study the Declaration of Independence and find out its meaning, I think it must impress us all the more that suffrage belongs to women as well as to men, because it says government exists to secure just laws for the governed. This is a very strong argument, a very American argument, a very democratic argument, and, what is still better, a very just argument. It is my wish to see the franchise granted to women. —*Rev. Thomas Scully.*

It is right that I should have the ballot. If the president has the right to it, so have I. If it is my right, I ought to exercise it, for my own good and that of humanity. Without it, I am not as useful, as strong, or as womanly as I might be. I am, or try to be, a defender of the things that are right and just, and it is my duty to use every means of defending them more effectively.—*Rev. Florence Kollock Crooker.*

Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage.—*Prof. Henry E. Kelly.*

The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie, the greatest strengthener of family life.—*Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, Ex-Member of New Zealand Parliament.*

Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge.—*Lady Holder (wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.)*

The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.—*Hon. Carroll D. Wright.*

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundations of the Republic. We owe this more to woman suffrage than to any other one cause.—*Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court.*

The ballot is an educator, and women will become more practical and more wise in using it.—*Prof. Edward H. Griggs.*

A limited suffrage is always subject to corrupt influences, just in proportion to its limitation. Universal suffrage for all citizens irrespective of sex is the power that will save the people from political and industrial serfdom.—*Henry B. Blackwell.*

It cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently. Study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better comrades to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society.—*Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer.*

It is said that women ought not to vote because they do not fight. But she who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.—*Lady Henry Somerset.*

If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let them have dominion over the earth"?—*Bishop J. W. Bashford, (Methodist).*

Public spirit, a genuine interest in all questions of national or social importance, is as essential a part of true womanhood as of true manhood; and women ought not to be exempt from the duty of voting.—*Mrs. Charles, Author of "The Schonberg Cotta Family."*

The women of Ireland, who vote in municipal elections, have suffered no loss either of dignity or domesticity.—*Lord Mayor Tallon of Dublin.*

We need the participation of woman in the ballot-box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed up Jonah.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

You can get at the best side of the electorate through the women being interested in the higher side of life, and voting for the things that promote it. In Scotland, where women have the municipal vote, every reformer knows that if he can get the women to understand his program, he will be stronger at the polls.—*Rev. Walter Walsh of Dundee.*

When women organize and vote, they will get equal pay for equal work.—*Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.*

I most thoroughly and heartily back the woman suffrage movement.—*Rev. Robert Collyer, D. D.*

A certain minister says women ought not to vote because suffrage is not a natural but a derived right. So is the right of children to a common school education. So is our right to sanitary and police protection. It is not natural. Heaven did not make policemen. But who will say that girls should be shut out from school, or women from police protection, because it is not a natural right?—*Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.*

The factory girl needs the ballot for the same reason that she needs education, or any other privilege that will lift her in the scale of human beings. There is a great body of law which applies exclusively to the working girl, and regulates her relations with her employer. She must work under these laws, but she has had no voice in making them.—*Mrs. Fanny B. Ames.*

When the Republicans nominate a bad man and the Democrats a good one, the Republican women do not hesitate a moment to "scratch" the bad and substitute the good. It is just so with the Democrats: hence we almost always have a mixture of officeholders. I have seen the effects of female suffrage, and, instead of being a means of encouragement to

fraud and corruption, it tends greatly to purify elections and to promote better government. —*Ex-Chief Justice Fisher of Wyoming.*

I believe the granting of the ballot to women is along the line of the higher development of our humanity. I hope the time may never come when I can be so forgetful of the interests, rights, or liberties of any human being as to refuse such a simple act of justice, however few the number asking for it.—*Hon. Oliver W. Stewart, Illinois.*

Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.—*Louisa M. Alcott.*

When a man says to me: "Do you believe in giving the ballot to women?" I answer: "No, I believe they ought to have it without its needing to be given to them." I look upon my mother, daughter and sister as having every inborn right that I have.—*Rev. J. L. Withrow, D. D.*

Conscience is what we need in public life today more than any other factor. We have ability, but we know that things are not run always just as we should like to have them. Bring this superior responsiveness of womanhood to the duties of life to bear on the gov-

ernment of this nation, and I believe we shall have added the one factor now wanting.—*Ex-Gov. John L. Bates of Massachusetts.*

Those who are ruled by law should have the power to say what shall be the laws and who the law-makers. Women are as much interested in legislation as men, and are entitled to representation.—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

I have believed in equal suffrage for years. We are told that women do not want it. If there is one woman who wants it, that's enough.—*Judge H. H. Northrup.*

Every argument that can be adduced to prove that males should have the right to vote, applies with equal force to prove that females should possess the same right.—*Hon. Benjamin F. Wade.*

Women should have not only social equality, but also equality in education, equality economically, and equality politically. This is the end to which we should work.—*Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University.*

Everybody feels the justice of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not

men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.—*Rev. Dr. David Gregg.*

I believe the ballot should be in the hands of every American woman. There is no phase of existence that woman has not brightened, and the American political system will become free from tarnish and take on lustre whenever woman is established in the elective franchise. —*Avery C. Moore, Idaho.*

Politics is a dirty pool, it has been said, but women have no right to be perched upon a pedestal when great questions are pressing for solution. Suffrage is not only woman's right, but her duty, and duty is more than right. Given the privilege to vote, women will give a better attendance upon their household duties; they will be better wives, better mothers. Never fear that giving women their rights will destroy the homes.—*Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper.*

I do not know of any unanswerable argument against woman suffrage, and I know a great many arguments in its favor. As I have seen its operation in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.—*Rev. Dr. Frances E. Clark, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.*

I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy. Men are much

disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote, it has become a very simple question, that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote they ought to stop bearing sons.—*George W. Cable.*

———

In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industral problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. The time will come when one shall look back upon the arguments against granting the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as we now read the arguments against their education.—*Mary E. Woolley, President of Mt. Holyoke College.*

———

When I was in the Nebraska Legislature twenty-four years ago, I voted "aye" on the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters of Nebraska. I have never had occasion since to change my views—*John H. Mickey, Ex-Governor of Nebraska.*

Any influence I may happen to have is gladly extended in favor of woman suffrage.—*Lydia Maria Child.*

Woman suffrage stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the state and the home are promoted.—*W. E. Mullen, Attorney General of Wyoming.*

"If Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an' hang up a picture iv Niagary be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' iliction. It's no job f'r her, an' I told her so."—*Mr. Dooley, (F. P. Dunne).*

The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! * * * If manhood suffrage is unsatisfactory, it does not at all show that woman suffrage would be. On the contrary, we might make it much better by bringing to it the feminine mind, which, in a way, complements the masculine, and so completes the mind of humanity.—*Mrs. Julia Ward Howe.*

I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage. I would give them all a vote and give it to them at once. Until you throw open to women every avenue of employment in which they can use their faculties, you will never realize the service they can render.—*George Meredith.*

Every right goes with a duty. Women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before us the standard of righteousness; and they ought to have a vote.—*Emil G. Hirsch.*

I fully believe that the time has come when the ballot should be given to woman. Both her intelligence and conscience would lead her to vote on the side of justice and pure morals. —*Bishop Hurst.*

Before women voted, the primary meeting in Colorado Springs was generally attended by a mere handful of persons, most of them professional politicians. Now the attendance is four times as large, and includes the best men and women of the community.—*President Slocum of Colorado College.*

I believe the ballot would be a good thing for American women, especially those of the leisure class. If it did nothing else, it would give them legitimate interests which they lack now.—*Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons.*

I am on record as a member of the legislature of 1883, 1884 and 1886 as favoring the suffrage for women.—*W. L. Douglass, Ex-Gov. of Massachusetts.*

I have a mother to whom I owe everything and I should not think of denying her the right to vote. The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of the country takes the best interest in the home.—*Senator Henry Waldo Coe, of Oregon.*

The woman suffrage movement seems to me to be right, not so much for what it is in itself as for what it effects; it is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.—*Rev. Charles F. Thwing.*

I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the suffrage.—*George C. Pardee, Ex-Governor of California.*

In reply to your question as to whether I believe in the principle of woman suffrage, I reply in the affirmative.—*U. S. Senator Robert M. LaFollette.*

I believe that political enfranchisement would go far to quicken women's sense of social and public responsibility, and that it

would put into their hands a mighty instrument for making their interest in reform effective.—*Rev. Charles G. Ames.*

Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on, she is his quartermaster, and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, "If you want to vote you must first go and kill somebody"? It is a coward's argument!—*Lucy Stone.*

I have been for a long time, and still am, convinced that it is both right and desirable for women to have the privilege of the suffrage.—*John C. Cutler, Governor of Utah.*

The women of New Zealand secured the franchise by a majority of only two votes. Now it is doubtful if in the whole House there would be two members to oppose it.—*Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand.*

I firmly believe that the suffrage movement by the year 1914 will have advanced to the point where the necessary amendment to the constitution, urged by a monster petition of women who own property, will be passed by the legislative bodies of New York State; and when once the women of the Empire Statae go to the polls, the women of all the States of the Union will be given the same right.—*Mrs. Russell Sage.*

You cannot claim a single right for a man that you do not yield to a woman.—*Rev. Dr. Duryea.*

By withholding suffrage from women we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst sort. On the other hand, if the Legislature frankly admitted women to the exercise of the suffrage, it would, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governments—*Prof. Frederick D. Maurice.*

No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged, are drawn almost entirely from a tender consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.—*Hon. Thomas B. Reed.*

I believe in woman suffrage, not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women.—*Hon. Frederic C. Howe.*

A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself. It makes no difference whether all women want to vote, or whether most women want to vote. So long as there is one woman who insists upon this simple right, the justice of man cannot afford to deny it.—*Hon. William Dudley Foulke.*

Politics is properly the friendly consideration of all manner of common interests, in which the women are as much concerned as the men are. Why should the State then keep up the old world barrier of political inferiority against such mothers, sisters and wives? No one can give any reason, except such arguments of conservative timidity as have generally withstood every step in the advancement of mankind.—*Rev. Charles F. Dole.*

We used to ask for suffrage because women needed is as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."—*Mary A. Livermore.*

If the right to vote at tax elections is to be limited to property owners, it would seem but

an act of justice to extend that right to women property-holders as well as to men.—*Ex-Governor Higgins, of New York.*

College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.—*Prof. Lucy M. Salmon.*

In consequence (of woman suffrage) our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and we have cleaner and stronger city governments.—*W. A. Johnston, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.*

Does anyone believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of affairs, we should have 80,000 children on half time in the schools in New York City? Does anyone believe we should have to boil our water before we dare to drink it? It would make a vast difference in American cities of women could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot.—*Mrs. Florence Kelley.*

I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women.—*Bishop Simpson.*

We do not say that women are like men, or that they are going to be. We say that they are very different from men, and therefore they must have representation. It is necessary not only for themselves but for the State.—*Mrs. Cobden Sanderson.*

Desiring to learn how the women were using their privilege in the four enfranchised States, I wrote to a number of clergymen in those states, taking their names at random from the subscription lists of our paper. I received 25 replies. Four leading denominations were represented, and a goodly proportion of the writers were doctors of divinity. The answers were almost unanimously favorable to woman suffrage. I had asked whether the experiment was working well, fairly well or poorly. One gentleman in Wyoming thought it was working poorly, three in Colorado thought it was working fairly well, and all the rest were positive, and some of them enthusiastic, in their statements that it was working well.—*Amos R. Wells, Editor of the Christian Endeavor World.*

Politics governs even the purity of the milk supply. It is not "outside the home," but inside the baby.—*Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman.*

By the way, who gave man the right to decide this matter, anyhow? Why haven't women as much right to disfranchanise men as men have to disfranchise women. Isn't it, as a matter of fact, a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity, when might made right, unworthy of a chivalrous, modern manhood? I believe the time is hastening when the manhood and womanhood of our land will be mutually blended in civil government as they are now beautifully blended in the highest and best type of civil government — the ideal home.—*E. W. Hoch, Governor of Kansas.*

I consider the ballot the best cure for race-suicide.—*Mrs. Lydia Kingswell Commander.*

When the question is fairly put to them, I find no men who deny this proposition of the equality of the sexes. Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself? No one would expect to develop an ideal family life where the mother was regarded as inferior to the father, where the children were taught to look upon the mother as an inferior being. Spiritual equality must be admitted before there can be perfect co-operation. As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be a just government that does not build upon this principle as its foundation stone.—*Mayor "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo.*

Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia would agree that the concession of the vote to women has been a real benefit to the State. They have very largely declared themslves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character. —*Prof. R. E. Macnaghten, McGill University, Montreal (formerly of Tasmania).*

I believe in the admisison of women to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as Chancellors of the Exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial. —*Theodore Parker.*

There is no problem upon which an intelligent women cannot throw some new light. In neglecting woman's help, men are blundering not merely in what they do, but still more badly in what they do not do; in the terribly important provinces of life which they leave untouched by legislation. We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.—*Israel Zangwill.*

I believe emphatically that a woman's place is home; but where is her home? Mine is all

the way from Boston to San Francisco and from Canada to the Gulf. The question is not what a woman should be allowed to do, but can she do it properly? In this reform (woman suffrage) home is the very watchword, for all the interests of the home, and all the evils that affect the home, are largely dependent upon politics. Women not only should have the power to deal with these, but they could wield it effectively.—*Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth.*

I shall try my best to get women the franchise. The women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.—*Winston Churchill.*

Then there is the great phrase of Lincoln's, which was first Theodore Parker's: "Government of the people, for the people, by the people." It will hardly be denied that women are people, equally with men; and, if they are, we have not government by the people until they obtain the franchise.—*Rev. John W. Chadwick.*

I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics;

and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country. Should she decide to take part in politics, she will help to purify these, and then the vast number of men of intelligence and refinement who now avoid the polls will take a practical interest in good government.—*Rev. Edward McSweeney, Mt. St. Mary's, Md.*

The Legislature of New. York says that its women citizens are good enough to be made use of as angels of mercy to rescue the wrecks created by social evils, good enough to be taxed without representation, but not good enough to be given the right of suffrage, the freeman's weapon of defence.—*Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard.*

Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are today; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman, as a woman, from the right.—*Rev. William C. Gannett.*

Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the results are good and not evil.—*Ex-Gov. Warren of Wyoming.*

I am a suffragist, not primarily, because I believe that the woman's vote will purify the ballot, and not because I have a sense of humiliation in being classed with infants and idiots, but because in the course of seven years' active newspaper reporting in Denver, Chicago and New York, it has been positively demonstrated to me that a vote is a thing worth having.—*Frances Maule Bjorkman.*

We hear little today of the "angel" argument, that women are too fine for the coarse, rough work of the world, and should be shielded in hot-houses, where not even the wind of heaven should visit them too roughly. Whoever has worked side by side with women in Sanitary Commissions and Prison Boards, has seen them go fearlessly into police courts to secure the protection of families, or into foul wards of hospitals to save human lives, knows. that this is not the type of American woman, however it may be the lady of romance. Your women on the boards of charities, in benevolent institutions, in churches, in their daily round of work, may spend health and strength and life in mitigating the effects of evil; but when the question is on removing causes, they have no vote.—*Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney.*

Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of honest and clean local government, and make our cities centres of

sweetness and light, as well as of activity and strength.—*President David Starr Jordan of Stanford University.*

I think that woman suffrage will come as a result of the increasing economic independence of women which will in turn sharpen her intellect, force upon her an interest in the social and economic conditions which are determining her own destiny in so great a measure, and finally give her that self-respect and self-sufficiency which prevent her from being content with the alternate adoration and contempt of the opposite sex.—*Dr. Chas. A. Beard, Columbia University.*

I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is certainly no argument which can be made against it.—*Bryant B. Brooks, Governor of Wyoming.*

I am in favor of bringing the votes of women to the reinforcement of all good causes. —*George Hodges, D. D., Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.*

I want women to vote because it will improve the educational system of the whole country.—*Mrs. Clarence H. Mackey.*

To the bread-winning portion of the sex (female) the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother she must be reckoned with at the

polls. Hence it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient. —*C. S. Thomas, Ex-Governor of Colorado.*

The woman movement of this country is its most significant movement, because it brings human hearts together. We want not the rule of gold, but the Golden Rule. To carry this out in this world we need the help of the women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.—*Edwin Markham.*

We have driven our leading opponent from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obliged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.—*George F. Hoar.*

More and more the schools of America are passing under the control of woman, and she has so demonstrated her fitness to teach that this educational reform will not go backward Then, for the safety of the nation, it must go forward, till, by her enfranchisement, her fitness to be the teacher of America's future citizens will be complete.—*Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace.*

I know of many prejudices against woman suffrage, but of nothing which deserves to be called a reason. The reasons are all on the other side.—*Professor Borden P. Bowne.*

Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of women to vote. If taxation without representation is tyranny, if governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then the suffrage must be extended to women upon the same terms as to men.—*Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island.*

I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.—*Bishop J. W. Hamilton (Methodist).*

I have always advocated giving to woman equal rights with man. Though the extension of suffrage would devolve upon her great responsibilities and necessitate many changes in our method of administering the laws, yet I cannot see upon what principle it can be logically denied her.—*Ex-Governor Wm. Claflin, of Massachusetts.*

How much Dr. Channing and I spoke and wrote of the old controversy — Influence versus Office! He would have any woman

study anything that her faculties led her to, but he would have her stop at the study. From the moment she entered the hospital as physician, and not nurse; from the moment she took her place in the court of justice in the jury box and not the witness box; from the moment she brought her mind and her voice into the Legislature, instead of discussing the principles of laws at home, she would, he feared, lose her influence as an observing intelligence, standing by in a state of purity, "unspotted from the world." My conviction always was that an intelligence never carried out into action could not be worth much.—*Harriet Martineau.*

Woman suffrage is not only right, but practical. It tends to elevate. There is not a caucus but is better attended, and by better people, and held in a better place. I have seen the time when a political convention without a disturbance and the drawing of weapons was rare. That time is past in Colorado, and it is due to the presence of women. Every man now shows that civility which makes him take off his hat and not swear, and deport himself decently when ladies are present.—*U. S. Representative Shafroth.*

Under our present form of city life, housekeeping has become a public function, and the ballot has become a domestic necessity. The housekeeper must buy milk and meat; she must make the clothing, or buy it ready-made.

She needs a vote on the ordinaces which control the conditions. She must have something to say about the men who make and enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.—*Prof. Sophronisba Breckenridge.*

I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote, although I have read almost everything that has been written on the subject, on both sides.—*M. J. Savage.*

A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock, and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulations of the State?—*George William Curtis.*

The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.—*Ex-Chief Justice Groesbeck of Wyoming.*

I am glad to express my emphatic conviction, not merely that woman is entitled to fran-

chise, but that the logical issue of American Citizenship, as of Christian justice and morality, is certain to put the ballot in the hands of woman.—*Dr. R. Heber Newton.*

Not only must millions of women now earn their living outside the home but the housekeeper, as well as they, is more and more dependent upon outside conditions which only a voter can efficiently control, and which every woman who loves her home ought to desire to help control.—*Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.*

There is also the question of woman suffrage. The experiment will be made, whatever our theories and prejudices may be. Women are the most religious, the most moral, and the most sober portion of the American people, and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded.—*Bishop Spalding (Roman Catholic).*

Women's natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line. The essence of military service is the risking of life and the endurance of hardship for the general good. Surely if the long, irksome months ending in pain and danger which go to the making of every citizen were summed up, the grand total of devotion would be with the woman, and not with the man — even in wartime.—*Flora Annie Steele.*

I most earnestly believe that the moral forces of society would be strengthened if the privilege and duty of voting were shared by women.—*Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D.*

Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence. —*Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand.*

In my opinion, the extension of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. Without being revolutionary, their influence has been on the side of progress and clean government. * * * I should say the almost universal verdict of the people of New Zealand would be that the admission of women to the franchise was not only right in principle, but satisfactory in practice.—*Hon. George Foulds, Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.*

I think that the women's franchise in New Zealand has, on the whole, resulted in good to the well-being and progress of the Colony. As regards the use made by women of the vote, you have the statistics of the last elections in New Zealand, and particularly the last Federal Election (Australia) in which it will be found women exercised their vote as freely as the men. I consider that the educational work done by the organized women of the Colony

since 1890 has been a great factor in stimulating humanitarian interest.—*Hon. John George Findlay, M. L. C. Atty. General and Colonial Secy., New Zealand.*

From the present posture of affairs and the comparative length of stride of the two countries toward civilization, it would seem possible that Turkey will arrive at the goal of woman suffrage a century before Massachusetts.—*Anne Whitney.*

I know only woman and her disfranchised.—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

For sale at N. A. W. S. A. Headquarters, Warren, Ohio. Price 5c each; $2.50 per 100, postpaid.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published Monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York

Woman Suffrage Endorsed

The American Federation of Labor, at its 1908 Convention at Denver, adopted the following:

WHEREAS, The economic platform of the American Federation of Labor adopted by the Minneapolis Convention and re-affirmed and amended by the Norfolk Convention, among other planks in its platform, affirms its belief in "Woman Suffrage co-equal with man suffrage; and

WHEREAS, In the annual report of the last National Convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was expressly stated that it was the "much-abused trade union movement which stands for the recognition of the rights, political, social, moral and industrial, of women;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does now re-affirm this platform and expresses its belief in the need of full political equality for all women. That this political equality is as necessary to their economic independence as it is for their brothers in all branches of labor, and we pledge the affiliated unions of the land to earnestly work for this political freedom.

State Federations of Labor of California, Connecticut, Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia have officially declared for woman suffrage.

The National Grange has several times officially endorsed woman suffrage, its 1906 resolution reading:

RESOLVED, That the National Grange, standing as it does for the equality of men and women in the home, church and Grange, expresses itself in favor of equality in citizenship.

State Granges of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Washington have endorsed the action of the National body.

The National Association of Letter Carriers has endorsed woman suffrage in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, This country has attained its high standing among the nations by the development of its government on the principles of American independence; therefore

RESOLVED, That the next step of progress demands the application of these principles to women by extending to them the right of suffrage on equal terms with men; and we urge the necessary changes in our laws and constitutions to secure this right to them.

State Letter Carriers' Associations, following the example of the National body, are Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Washington.

Other National organizations which have adopted woman suffrage resolutions are:

National Women's Single Tax League.

World's W. C. T. U. (representing 50 countries and provinces.)

National W. C. T. U. (500,000 members).

National Association of Spiritualists of United States and Canada.

National Convention of Universalists.

Western Federation of Miners.

United Mine Workers of America, (350,000 members).

Supreme Commandery Knights of Temperance.

American Single Tax Conference.

International Cotton Spinners' Union.

International Women's Union Label League.

International Typographical Union.

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

International Socialist Congress.

International Bricklayers' and Stone Masons' Union (70,000 members).

United Teamsters of America.

National Purity Conference.

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

United Textile Workers of America.

Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.

Ladies of the Maccabees of the World (155,860 members).

National Council of Women (1,500,000 members).

Nurses' Association of the Pacific Coast.

Native Daughters of the Golden West.

Women Workers of the Middle West.

International Council of Women (representing 20 countries and upwards of 6,000,000 of women members).

At simultaneous meetings held in Boston, New York and Chicago, **The American Women Trade Unionists** adopted woman suffrage resolutions, and the **Woman's International**

Union Label League includes woman suffrage in its revised constitution.

Other National organizations which have taken action on some phase of the question or have received fraternal delegates from the Woman Suffrage Association are:

American Library Association.
The Socialist Party.
National Educational Association.
National Congress of Mothers.
National Catholic Women's League.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Finnish Temperance Society.
National W. R. C.
Ladies of the G. A. R.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
League of American Municipalities.
National Municipal League.
Peace Congress.
Charities and Corrections.

Many other State organizations have taken action on the woman suffrage question. Included in these are W. C. T. U.'s, Teachers' Associations, Farmers' Institutes, Sons of Temperance, Dairy Workers, Federation of Women's Clubs, Prohibition Parties, State Fairs, W. R. C.'s and G. A. R.'s Chautauquas, Congress of Mothers, Ministerial Associations, Y. P. S. C. E.'s, etc.

A constantly increasing number of local trades unions are taking favorable action on this question.

At least **Five Hundred Organizations,** other than woman suffrage associations, officially endorsed woman suffrage in the years 1904 to 1908, inclusive.

Subscribe for PROGRESS, Official Organ N. A. W. S. A. Published monthly at the National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price, 25 cents a year.

Progress of Equal Suffrage

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is sometimes said that while the movement for women's education and property rights has advanced rapidly, the movement for suffrage has made little or no progress. On this point, let the "hard facts" speak for themselves.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and a few other places in the old world.

In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850, Ontario gave it to women, both married and single. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867, New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871, West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont.

In 1880, South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.

In 1881, municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland, and parliamentary suffrage to the women of the Isle of Man. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883. Municipal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886.

In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888, England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889, county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois.

In 1893, school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894, school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895, full state suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896, full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898, the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900, Wisconsin gave women school suffrage, and West Australia granted full state suffrage to women, both married and single.

In 1901, New York gave tax-paying women in all towns and villages of the State the right to vote on questions of local taxation, Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas Legislature voted down almost unanimously and "amid a ripple of amusement" a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902, full national suffrage was granted to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New South Wales.

In 1903, bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas, and Tasmania gave women full state suffrage.

In 1905, Queensland gave women full state suffrage.

In 1906, Finland gave full national suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices, from members of Parliament down.

In 1907, Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage, Sweden made women eligible to municipal offices, Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England, with only 15 dissenting votes out of the 670 members of the House of Commons, made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. The new State of Oklahoma continued school suffrage for women.

In 1908 Michigan gave all women who pay taxes the right to vote upon questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or the wives of taxpayers a vote for all officers except members of Parliament, and Victoria gave full State suffrage to all women.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is now, somebody asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a suffrage meeting?

"Yes," answered the Bishop, "I don't want to fall in at the rear of this reform; I mean to march with the procession!"

There can be no doubt as to which way the procession is moving.

Political Equality Leaflets, 10c. sample set, published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's Reply to Mrs. Humphry Ward

THE following letter appeared in The London Times of October 1, 1908:

To the Editor of The Times:

Mrs. Humphry Ward has published in your columns a letter on the woman suffrage movement in America. If the reports of this letter cabled to the American papers are correct, Mrs. Ward's statements show that she has been seriously misinformed.

She is reported as saying, in substance, that "in the second third of the 19th century" the woman suffrage movement in this country was active and strong, but that it is now almost extinct, owing to the organized opposition of women. Nothing could be further from the facts.

In the second third of the 19th century, as I well remember, the movement was small and unpopular, and the object of unlimited ridicule. It has grown steadily in

numbers and in strength ever since. The change of sentiment in its favor among women has been especially marked.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is growing in membership every year, and its annual income has risen from $2,544 in 1892 to $25,662 in 1907.

The organized opposition among women is very small compared with the organization of women in favor. The women's anti-suffrage movement in America maintains only one small four-page quarterly as its mouthpiece; the woman suffrage movement maintains one weekly paper and seven monthlies.* The organ of the anti-suffragists, in its issue for January, 1908, publishes a list of the Anti-Suffrage Associations in the United States. From this it appears that State Anti-Suffrage Associations exist in only four out of the 46 States of the Union, and small anti-suffrage "Committees" in four more. On the other hand, Woman Suffrage Associations exist in 33 States and several Territories.

The "New York State Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women," in its last annual report, claims only four local branches. The New York State Woman Suffrage Association has 125 local branches. The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has 38 local branches of

*A second small anti-suffrage quarterly has been started since the above was written.

so-called members, who pay no dues. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has 111 local branches, all of whose members pay dues.

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women claims to have 14,000 members. This gives a greatly exaggerated idea of its strength, unless accompanied with an explanation as to what constitutes membership. In most societies, those who join pay a membership fee, and renew their membership from year to year. The so-called members of the "Anti" Association pay no dues; they merely sign an anti-suffrage document; and those who signed many years ago are still counted as members to-day. The statement that they have 14,000 members merely means that in 13 years they have collected 14,000 signatures.

At the time of the recent Constitutional Convention in Michigan, the Michigan suffragists collected 175,000 signatures to their petitions in a few months. No anti-suffrage petitions were reported.

At the time of the last Constitutional Convention in New York, the suffragists secured more than 300,000 signatures to their petitions; the anti-suffragists, only 15,000.

When Chicago was lately considering the adoption of a new city charter, 97 organizations, with an aggregate membership of 10,000 women, petitioned for the insertion in the charter of a clause giving women the

ballot, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it.

In Maine, Iowa, Kansas—in short, wherever women have sent to the Legislature petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to 1. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject, (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the women's vote was in favor, 25 to one.

In America most women are still indifferent on the question of suffrage; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the vast majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test.

Mrs. Ward ascribes all the defeats of woman suffrage bills in the United States to "the organized opposition of women." In most of the States where such defeats have taken place, there was no anti-suffrage organization of women at all. In the few cases where such organizations existed, there is no reason to believe that their influence turned the scale. In America, the great obstacle to woman suffrage is the inertia of conservatism among both men and women, added to the strenuous opposition of the liquor interests and all the vicious elements. The poet Whittier said, many years ago, that the men who were opposed to woman suffrage merely used the opposi-

tion of a few women as a cloak for their own hostility. This is equally true to-day.

Mrs. Ward says: "The State of Washington, where woman suffrage existed while it was still a Territory, refused to grant it when it became a State." Women voted for the first time in Washington in 1884, and the woman suffrage law was set aside as unconstitutional by the Territorial Supreme Court in 1887. When the decision of the Supreme Court was announced, the liquor-sellers and gamblers lit bonfires and rang bells.

Mrs. Ward does not mention that Wyoming, after 20 years' experience of woman suffrage as a territory, and Utah, after 17 years' experience of it, both of them put it into their constitutions by an almost unanimous vote, when they came into the Union as States. Colorado, after eight years' experience of it, incorporated it into her constitution by a majority more than six times as large as that by which she had originally adopted it.

Every Governor of Wyoming for the past 39 years has declared the results of woman suffrage to be good, and the Wyoming Legislature has twice passed resolutions to that effect, by a unanimous vote. For the last 20 years the suffragists have had a standing challenge inviting the opponents to find in all Wyoming two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results. The op-

ponents have thus far failed to respond.

A resolution testifying to the good results of woman suffrage has been passed by the Colorado Legislature, with only three dissenting votes in the House and one in the Senate. Several years ago a published statement that no ill effects had followed, and that the women's vote was "noticeably more conscientious than that of men," was signed by the Governor of Colorado, the Governor-elect, and two ex-Governors; by the Chief Justice and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court, the Denver District Court, and the Court of Appeals; the President of the State University, the Attorney General, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, all the Colorado Senators and representatives in Congress, and a long list of distinguished citizens, including prominent clergymen of different denominations, and the presidents of 13 of the principal women's associations of Denver. The anti-suffragists have not found in all Colorado a dozen respectable men who say the contrary over their own names.

In Idaho, the Chief Justice and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement, saying: "Woman Suffrage has gained much in popularity since its adoption by our people. None of the evils predicted have come to pass. The constitutional amendment establishing it was carried by more than a two-thirds vote. If the question were re-sub-

mitted, we believe it would now be carried by a vote almost unanimous." So far as I am aware, the anti-suffragists have not yet found a single man or woman in Idaho whom they can quote on the other side.

Mrs. Ward compliments "the common sense and public spirit" of those American women who oppose woman suffrage. Without calling in question their good intentions, we can hardly praise the good sense of women who not only oppose the granting of the full franchise to women, but who also fight, with equal or even greater vehemence, every proposal to grant them municipal suffrage, or to give women who are tax-payers a vote upon questions of local taxation. Mrs. Ward refers with regret to the defeat in New York, in 1899, of a bill requiring that one-third of the members of school boards should be women. The Albany Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women published a letter protesting against that bill as legislation which "threatens the home, threatens the sacredness of the marriage tie, threatens the church, and undermines the foundation of our great Republic."

At the recent annual meeting of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women we hear that every speaker laid stress upon the urgent need of more money and increased effort to offset the growing activity of the suffragists. The New York Association

Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, in its official report for the year 1907, says frankly: "When the agitation for woman suffrage first began to command attention, the outlook for its ultimate success was far less a matter of apprehension than it is to-day."

We shall all agree that comparison between the personnel of the two parties is to be avoided. Yet I must say that, in the experience of many years, I have always found the advocates of woman suffrage occupying higher moral ground than that held by their opponents. On the one side, I see the logic of justice carried to its inevitable conclusion. On the other, I find a deep-down distrust of human nature, which, so far as it is embodied in the ordinances of society, must always restrict its progress and deny its highest ideals. I am happy in believing that woman suffrage, in so far as it already prevails in the United States, has come to stay. I feel assured that its domain will extend itself with the prevalence of true principles of government, and with the growing application of these to the issues of life.

JULIA WARD HOWE,
President New England Woman Suffrage Association.
Newport, R. I.

Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, Ohio. 75 cents per 100, post paid.

Julia Ward Howe on Suffrage

(Address at May Festival of New England Woman Suffrage Association.)

I am glad to attend with you a festival of common sense and of common right. It is pleasant to meet with friends, and to look round upon familiar faces. But it is more than pleasant, it is happy, to be one of an assemblage drawn together by sympathy, not only for each other, but for humanity. We often think of the great humanitarian work as withdrawn from common life, isolated on the heights of solitary meditation and grandeur. But these high dreams find their realization in occasions like the present, in which are touched true master chords of feeling and of conscience; and the earnest, heroic intention of serving and bettering the world takes on a tangible form and purpose.

As the Friends have a way of measuring what they call the solid sense of a meeting, so we, I think, may say that the weight of sound thought and active conscience in the world is decidedly with us today. We see this in the good literature which advocates our cause. We see it in the noble names appended to our petitions, both here and in Europe. And I must say that we often see

it in the frivolous and empty arguments which are brought against our demand.

These meetings show, among other things, the character of those who believe in suffrage with their whole heart. We who are gathered here are not a frantic, shrieking mob. We are not contemners of marriage, nor neglecters of home and offspring. We are individually allowed to be men and women of sound intellect, of reputable life, having the same stake and interest in the well-being of the community that others have. Most of us are persons of moderate competence, earned or inherited. We have had, or hope to have, our holy fireside, our joyful cradle, our decent bank account. Why should any consider us as the enemies of society, we who have everything to gain by its good government?

I remember a time when a woman suffrage meeting advertised to be held in New York was looked upon by the public with disfavor. The advocates of the measure were then commonly represented as a group of shrieking, howling fanatics. If I heard of the meeting at that time I certainly shared the general impression. Had I gone into that meeting, what should I have seen there? The matronly majesty of Lucretia Mott, the saintly form of William Henry Channing, the maidenly bloom and modesty of Lucy Stone. And who were the shriekers and howlers at that meeting?

They were the mob who would not suffer these apostles to speak!

The different stages through which a positive reform must pass have been characterized as those of indifference, ridicule, and acceptance. To my mind, another statement is possible. A reform which implies a revolution is first seen to be just. It is then seen to be possible. Last of all, it is seen to be providential. The claim of woman to an equal opportunity with man was seen to be just when Plato so stated it in terms which the subtlest of his hearers could not gainsay. It was so seen when Paul said that in the Christian dispensation there is neither male nor female. It was seen when Mary Wollstonecraft published her daring thesis, and later, when the strong-souled men and women who arose to help the slave made their banner broad and bright with the motto. "Equal rights for all." It was seen to be possible when we, of this country, had learned the lesson of the great triumph of conscience which was taught us in our own war. Slavery was then seen to be a weaker relic of barbarism, and freedom to be the destiny of the human race. And now we see that it is providential, because it fits in with all the social and moral ameliorations which are establishing themselves in the order of the civilized world.

I once heard a speaker remark that the world was becoming daily more and more feminine.

The masculine dispensation of force and violence, he said, was gradually giving way before that power of gentleness, affection and charity, which is thought to be essentially feminine. The predominance of this side of human nature has been seen in history to be fatal to despotisms of all kinds. Christianity undermined the Roman Empire. In the Church itself, charity is the victorious opponent of violence and prejudice.

We see its effect in education. Women are no longer taught to adore force in all its manifestations, and to abdicate before it all the fine and tender impulses of their nature. The "more excellent way" is shown to all men and to all women, the crowning of that holy virtue which believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Military empire will die away. It is the house built upon the sand. The whirlwinds of passion, the tides of interest undermine it, and presently sweep it away. But the empire of moral sentiments is the house founded upon a rock. It is the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven to enthrone itself steadfastly upon the earth. And generation after generation shall pass away, thoughts, fashion, desires shall change; but this, the true temple of humanity, shall be constantly re-edified out of a grander state than Egypt, Greece, or Rome—the commonwealth of the nations, God's kingdom upon earth.

Woman's Ballot

By M. CAREY THOMAS
President of Bryn Mawr College

In the year 1903 there were in the United States, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, 6,474 women studying in women's colleges and 24,863 women studying in co-educational colleges. If the annual rate of increase has continued the same during the past three years, there are in college at present 38,268 women students. Although there are in the United States nearly 1,800,000 less women than men, women already constitute considerably over one-third of the entire student body, and are steadily gaining on men. This means that in another generation or two, one-half of all the people who have been to college in the United States will be women; and, just as surely as the seasons of the years succeed one another, or the law of gravitation works, just so surely will this great body of educated women wish to use their trained intelligence in making the towns, cities and states of their native country better places

for themselves and their children to live in; just so surely will the men with whom they have worked side by side in college classes, claim and receive their aid in political as well as in home life. The logic of events does not lie. It is unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes. The same is true of every woman's club and every individual woman who tries to obtain laws to save little children from working cruel hours in cotton mills, or to open summer gardens for homeless little waifs on the streets of a great city. These women, too, are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs they try to right.

In the early seventies, my mother was profoundly stirred by the terrible fate of poor girls in Baltimore, arrested, perhaps on false charges, confined over night in police stations, and subjected to the brutalities of policemen and men prisoners. She begged in vain through many months for women matrons. One day, when she was being driven fruitlessly about from one politician to another, she had to stop at a polling booth to let her ignorant negro coachman, who could neither read nor write, vote

for these very men whom she had implored in vain. She often told me that from that moment of bitter humiliation, in which she, a woman who could not vote, held the reins for the ignorant man who could, she never again doubted that women must vote to protect the interests of other women. Sooner or later every sensitive woman finds herself face to face with conditions like these, that degrade her womanhood. It is in truth as degrading, though perhaps less grotesque, for an ignorant white coachman to decide by his vote how his mistress shall be taxed, or how much or how little she and her children shall be protected from disease and crime.

Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. Our new reform school board of Philadelphia contains not one woman among its twenty-five members to represent the interests of women. No woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best paid and most influential positions in the schools. Yet more than one-half of the children in the schools of Philadelphia are girls; more than nine-tenths of all the teachers are

women; and it is the mothers and not the fathers who care most profoundly for the education of their children. What is true of Philadelphia is true, in the main, of the public schools of every town and city in forty-one of the United States. But it is not true in our four equal suffrage states, nor in any part of the great equal suffrage Australian commonwealth.

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.—From an address at National Suffrage Convention, Feb. 9, 1906.

The NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

Miss Woolley on Woman's Ballot

By Mary E. WOOLLEY
President of Mt. Holyoke College

It is difficult today to realize the storm of ridicule and bitter opposition which used to descend upon the head of a woman who presumed to lift her voice in a public assembly. It is not necessary to go back fifty years to find this attitude, for many of us can remember that the one or two women who took part in the church prayer-meeting of our girlhood days thereby deprived some of the members of their families of the privileges of the sanctuary, since they had not the moral courage to lend the sanction of their presence to so radical a proceeding. Fifty-three years ago Miss Anthony stood for half an hour in a State Teachers' Convention in Rochester, N. Y., two-thirds of the members being women, while the men present debated whether she should be

heard. The question was finally decided in the affirmative by a small majority, and it was, "Resolved, That this association recognizes the right of female teachers to share in all the privileges and deliberations of this body," thus winning for women the right of speaking in an educational convention on an educational subject.

In 1837, at the State Teachers' Convention in Binghamton, N. Y., it was Miss Anthony who introduced the resolution, "That it is the duty of all our schools, colleges and universities to open their doors to woman, and to give her equal and identical advantages together with her brother man," a resolution which the opposition declared "sought to uproot the theory and practice of the whole world," and was "an attempt to introduce a vast social evil."

Again, Miss Anthony and her co-workers taught, both by precept and example, that women have no right to confine their interests and responsibilities to their own households and personal circles. The home cannot be isolated from the great questions which affect the common welfare.

She has lived to see the work of her hands established in the gaining of educational and social rights for woman which might well be called revolutionary, so momentous have been the changes. In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving to women the opportunity to vote, should be accepted today as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance.

No aspect of the question appeals to me so strongly as its reasonableness. It has been shown that women can be both wise and womanly; can speak in public without sacrificing their dignity; can be graduated from a co-educational institution without becoming masculine — in fact, as the dean of women in a great university expressed it, "The fear now is, not that co-education will make women masculine but that it

will make the men feminine"; that they can interest themselves in making possible "the right to childhood" for the children of less fortunate women, without neglecting their own; and be better home-makers and home-lovers because their interests are not confined within their own four walls.

Some movements in history have been brought about by a stroke of the pen or a sudden uprising of the people, like a great tidal wave, sweeping everything before it; others have come slowly, as the result of the cumulative force of years of effort, and represent the gradual growth of conviction. The time will come when some of us will look back upon the arguments against the granting of the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as that with which we now read those against their education.—From an address at National Suffrage Convention, Feb. 9, 1906.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

Alice Freeman Palmer on Women's Duties

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, former president of Wellesley College, wrote an interesting article for a pamphlet compiled by the College Equal Suffrage League of Massachusetts, entitled, "Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women." Each college woman contributing to the symposium answered a separate objection. Mrs. Palmer replied to the argument that "women are already fully occupied with higher duties." She wrote:

What are the political duties?

What are the higher duties?

How far does the one kind obstruct or assist the other?

The political duties are: Informing one's self on the state of the country, on policies at issue, or candidates for office, and going to the polls and depositing a ballot.

The so-called higher duties of a woman are the bearing and rearing of children, and making a home for family and friends.

How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own

housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspaper and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently, and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now.

The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women, and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what women only can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine, they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and "higher" duties.

The objections to the political woman and to the educated woman present some instructive analogies. Fifty years ago it was seriously believed that knowing the classics would ruin her morals, philosophy her religion, and mathematics her health; in general a college education would take away her desire to be a good wife and

mother. To protect a being so frail, the colleges were carefully closed against her. Now, with the approval of wise men, more girls than boys are preparing for college, and this in the public interest. It may be found in politics, as in education, that the higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the lower.

MA CAN'T VOTE

Ma's a graduate of college, and she's read most everything:
She can talk in French and German, she can paint and she can sing.
Beautiful! She's like a picture! When she talks she makes you think
Of the sweetest kind of music, and she doesn't smoke or drink.
Oh, I can't begin to tell you all the poems she can quote;
She knows more than half the lawyers do; but ma can't vote.

When my pa is writing letters, ma must always linger near
To assist him in his spelling and to make his meaning clear.
If he needs advice, her judgment, he admits, is always best;
Every day she gives him pointers, mostly at his own request.
She keeps track of legislation, and is taxed on bonds and stocks,
But she never gets a look-in at the sacred ballot box.

Ma is wiser than our coachman, for he's not a graduate,
And I doubt if he could tell you who is governing the state.

He has never studied grammar, and I'll bet he doesn't know
Whether Caesar lived a thousand or two thousand years ago.
He could never tell us how to keep the ship of state afloat,
For he doesn't know there's such a thing—but ma can't vote.

Once when Mr. Jones was calling they got up a short debate
That was on the tariff question; he supposed he had it straight.
But before they'd finished talking he threw up his hands and said
That he'd not read much about it, nor remembered what he'd read.
He's too badly rushed to study how to better human lives,
Still he looms up like a giant when election time arrives.

Mrs. Gookins does our washing, for she has to help along,
Taking care of her six children, though her husband's big and strong.
When he gets a job, he only holds it till he draws his pay,
Then he spends his cash for whiskey, or else gambles it away.
I suppose his brain's no bigger than the brain of any goat.
And he'd trade his ballot for a drink—but ma can't vote!

—*Chicago Record-herald.*

SUBSCRIBE FOR "PROGRESS," published monthly at the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., N. Y. Sample set of leaflets 10c. Per 100, 15c.

The Direct Way

By Professor Frances Squire Potter, of University of Minnesota

When pushed to the wall, objectors to equal suffrage nowadays take refuge behind one of two platitudes. The first is used too often by women whose public activities ought logically to make them suffragists. It is that equal suffrage is bound to come, but at present there are more pressing needs. "Let us get the poor better housed and fed," these women say. "Let us get our schools improved, and our cities cleaned up, and then we shall have time to take up the cause of equal suffrage." Is not this a survival of that old vice of womankind, indirection? What is the use of getting the power to do something after you have had it done by somebody else? How much harder it is to get someone else to do it for you than to do it yourself!

But that is not the worst. Besides being harder, it is less effective. It is humiliating. It is false to American principles.

We educate our men and women alike and together; on the same terms they engage in business and bear the burdens of taxation. Shall we go back on this whole theory when it comes to its fundamental application? The suffrage issue should not be put off, but it should be placed first, as making the other issues easier and permanent.

Besides, is it not even more "ladylike," more "feminine," more "graceful," less "ostentatious," less "talkative," does it not "take less time from the home and the children," to go into the nearest polling place and register a vote, than to dress becomingly, journey down town, visit office after office, and take up the time of busy men who are so full of their own opinions that they really have little wish to represent different opinions? If, indeed, we have time for this social politics, would it not be equally "womanly" to call upon women in their homes, instead of upon men in their offices—I mean upon those women of less opportunities than ourselves, who so often are spoken of as a menace to equal suffrage? These women have not so many opinions to combat or win over, and whatever personal interests acting against good government they might have, these doubtless would be no

stronger, at least, than those of the men. Would it not be well for us to interest and educate the women with some of this time bestowed upon the men under the present system? And would not the public-spirited women of today do this instantly if equal suffrage were granted?

This brings me to the other platitude. How often are we told, "When women want the suffrage it will be given to them." That is to say, when an overwhelming majority of women want what they ought to have, then they can have it. Extension of suffrage never has been granted on those terms. No great reform has gone though on those terms. In an enlightened State, wanting is not considered a necessary condition to the granting of education or the extension of privilege. The enlightened State confers the privilege in order to create the desire. The unenlightened States, like Turkey and Russia, hold off until revolution compels a reluctant, niggardly, malevolent abdication of tyranny.

The course of nature is identical with that of the enlightened State. Opportunity jogs our elbow before we are aware of it, before we are ready for it.

The air environs the bird before it can fly, and nature pushes it out of the nest. The ocean is waiting for the fish hatched far up in the river, and the current carries it down. Life is waiting with infinite opportunity for the human soul, as the air

waits for the bird and the ocean for the creatures of the sea. There is scope at all times for the strong, and no one is strong until he acts. No one is wise until he thinks. No one is patriotic till he assumes the duties of citizenship. These things cannot be done by proxy.

There is infinite satisfaction in working with the law of gravitation rather than against it. Even if all women stood aside as so many do, natural forces are working for us. We have the conviction that that which has come in Finland and Australia, which is coming in England, will come in America. And there is a majesty in the sight of a great world-tide which has been gathering force through generations, which is rising steadily and irresistibly that should paralyze any Asiatic Xerxes who thinks to stop it with humanly-forged chains.

It is as inevitable for the mind and soul to expand as it is for a bud to open up into a flower. What finer requiem can we offer to those who have spent their lives in the struggle and without seeing the victory, than our confession of faith in the worth of the sacrifice?—*From address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., Oct.* 17, 1908.

Published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Persuasion or Responsibility?

By FLORENCE KELLEY

For five and twenty years the writer has striven for legislation to protect wage earning women and children in our rapidly developing industries.

Freedom of speech and press, the right of public meetings and the right to petition, all these have been used to the uttermost.

The statute books of many States contain laws placed upon them by ceaseless effort covering a quarter of a century. But what is the net result?

According to the latest report of the Department of Education, the per cent of our population enrolled in the public schools has diminished during the past five years. The cotton fields of the South call for the black children. The cotton mills, wherever found, summon the white children. In the middle states, the sweatshops of the great cities, the glassworks and the Pennsylvania mines absorb the boys and girls.

Schools cost money, and boards of education are composed chiefly of business men, men eager to keep down the taxes and willing to have children work.

According to the census of the United States there were, in 1900, 579,947 illiterate children between the ages of 10 and 14 years. Of these, about 510,000 were in the

thirteen Southern states and about 70,000 were scattered throughout the other states.

It may be a mere coincidence (but an interesting one) that illiteracy looms largest where women have least power, and grows less where they vote. Of the twenty states which have fewest illiterate children, women vote in eighteen.

Not only is the per cent of our population enrolled in schools, diminishing, not only have we a half-million illiterate children, we have also nearly two million children working for their living. In this, we rank with Russia, not with the enlightened states of Western Europe.

These general facts concerning the children and the Republic are disheartening. We are not gaining upon child labor, or upon child illiteracy. These grave evils are gaining upon us. There are more illiterates, more child laborers, a smaller per cent of the population upon the rolls of the schools.

Why are these things true? First, they are true because our industrial system calls for cheap labor. And to the employers, child labor seems cheap.

Second, they are true because the mothers, the teachers, the women fitted by nature and by training to guard the welfare of the children are prevented by law from electing the officers who enforce the laws.

For instance, the laws of New York are, in some respects, the most drastic and enlightened laws in the Republic. But the magistrates in New York City will not fine fathers who break the child labor law, and

the compulsory education law. The head of the city truancy department excuses his own incompetence, and the futility of his subordinates, by pointing out the fact that the magistrates dismiss the few offenders whom he brings before them.

The Commissioner of Health makes no attempt to prosecute merchants and telegraph companies who employ children at night or without "working papers." The present Commissioner of Police has not punished one parent for flagrant and wholesale violation of the "newsboy law," which forbids boys to work after ten at night or before they are ten years old.

Finally, the notorious Judge Deuel, (unfavorably known in the Town Topics scandals), is one of the judges of the Juvenile Court. This judge was one of three who recently handed down a decision that the beneficent statute is unconstitutional, which has, for twenty years, protected women and minors under the age of 18 years from night work in factories.

If the mothers and teachers voted in New York City, none of these things would occur. The same eager interest which has placed the child labor law, the compulsory school attendance law, the newsboy law, and the juvenile court law upon the statute books, would elect a mayor pledged to the enforcement of those laws.

The same inference applies fairly to the whole country. Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to

persuade legislators must remain in large degree fruitless.

Today women (outside the four states, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho), are confined to persuasion and publicity as means of gaining protection for the weaker classes in the community. To this must be added full political responsibility.

Because women consider the government men's affair, and something which concerns itself with elections and alarms, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they hear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death-rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives. Are we going to lose ourselves in the old circle of convention and add to that sum of wrong-doing which is continually committed in the world, because we do not look at things as they really are? Old-fashioned ways, which no longer apply to changed conditions, are a snare in which the feet of women have always become readily entangled. We keep hold of a convention which no longer squares with our genuine insight into life, and we are slow to follow a clue which might enable us to solace and improve the life about us, because it shocks an obsolete ideal.—JANE ADDAMS.

Political Equality leaflets, sample set 10c., published at National Suffrage headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, N. Y.

Woman Suffrage

Its Relation to Working Women and Children

By FLORENCE KELLEY

Never before in the history of the human race have children and young women formed, as they do today, an important part of the working force of great industrial communities wholly apart from their parents and the family life.

In the telephone and telegraph service something like a revolution would be caused if suddenly all the young people under the age of twenty-one were withdrawn. In retail trade the cash children, bundle-girls, wrappers and junior clerks are an extremely important part of the whole working force.

Every improvement in machinery and in industrial organization tends to summon to the ranks of industry an increasing number of young recruits.

How long these young workers shall be employed in a day may be literally a matter of life and death for them. Within my own acquaintance more than one young girl has

died of pneumonia, rheumatism, tuberculosis, due directly to overtime work with the accompanying exhaustion and loss of power to resist disease.

Now the health, morals and intelligence of the rising generation are peculiarly objects of solicitude of women. To deprive women of an equal share of power to determine the laws for these young workers is to give cruelly unequal power to sordid employers.

This is illustrated by the twelve years' effort of the Consumers' League of New York to obtain effective enforcement of the Mercantile Employees' Law. Agitation, petition, white lists, have all been used. Yet the law, passed in 1896, has not, in 1908, been made effective. If the legislators who, year after year, have failed to give the State Commissioner of Labor power to enforce this law, had been forced to depend for their continued political career upon the votes of women, this enforcing bill could never have been kept indefinitely hanging, which must pass before the mercantile employees can receive the same advantages which were long since obtained for factory workers.

In manufacture, older men form a larger part of the total working force than in retail

trade. And the older men are voters. Factory laws are obtained, therefore, with greater ease than workable laws for safeguarding the health and welfare of children and young girls.

A sinister chapter to which too little attention has hitherto been paid is the failure of our legislatures and courts to afford to young girls protection from seduction, assault and enslavement in infamous houses. The difficulty involved in obtaining the conviction of malefactors is known only to the few faithful souls who have attempted to obtain due punishment of these grave offenses. Mothers in any community are more deeply stirred by these offenses than by any others, but judges and juries vary beyond belief in their treatment of criminals guilty of crimes against girls.

In one western state a woman worked fourteen years to obtain the enactment of a workable statute to punish crimes against female minors. At last such a law was passed and vigorously enforced. Fourteen criminals were sent to the penitentiary. Then a young lawyer offered his services to one of the criminals, to free him by showing that the law was unconstitutional because the title should have read *"to define and* punish crimes against female minors," Whereas in fact the two words *"define and"* were missing from the title, the

necessary definition was contained in the body of the statute. Upon this frivolous ground the supreme court of the state held the statute invalid, and nine of the fourteen criminals were forthwith freed. The remaining five were too poor or too ignorant to obtain counsel and remained in the penitentiary. The patient woman whose work was thus frustrated continued the agitation. The legislature, after great effort on her part, re-enacted the statute with the title complete. But the nine criminals could not again be tried for the same offense and remained at liberty. It is hard to believe that such weary effort would be needed if the mothers and the teachers were a part of the voting constituency upon whom judges and legislators depend for their political careers.

It is the children of the poor who form the working contingent in retail trade. It is the daughters of the poor who chiefly fall victims to the basest crimes. Poor, young, ignorant, unorganized, they depend for protection upon laws framed and enforced by persons older than themselves. Is it safe or sane to exclude from a full share of power and responsibility the mothers and teachers, the older women whose first care is for the welfare of the young?

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

The Wage Earner and the Ballot

By MRS. MAUD NATHAN
of the Consumers' League

My experience in investigating the condition of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box.

In the States where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls. The reason is readily appreciated. Where there is a clash of interests between employers and employes, the side having the votes and the money to subscribe to campaign funds will naturally receive more consideration from both lawmakers and law-enforcers. The health and needs of the disfranchised working women, the eager appeals of their philanthropic sisters, all are easily outweighed by the wishes of the voters.

In Colorado women have voted for years. There, when some little children were

brought from the southern cotton mills and southern methods of employment were adopted in a Colorado cotton mill, a rigorous child-labor law and a compulsory education law were enacted at once, without a fraction of the agitation required in states where women are denied the suffrage. Moreover, the whole moral and economic question of permitting children to be employed in any way which makes for their mental, moral or physical injury is simplified in Colorado, because in that state the law reaches out to the person who contributes to the delinquency of a child, along with the offending child, thus placing the responsibility where it belongs, and diminishing the number of juvenile delinquents. Judge Lindsey, who secured the enactment of the law, enforces it in such a way as to prevent the offering of temptation to thousands of messenger boys, newsboys, cash boys and other child workers, and Judge Lindsey does not hesitate to assert that he is kept in office largely through the votes of women.

I also wish to call your attention to the fact that Colorado places the age of consent at 18 years. In that state a girl cannot consent to her ruin at an earlier age than to her marriage. This statute was introduced and passed by the efforts of a woman who was a member of the state legislature.

Another matter of vast importance to wage earners is the education of their children. It is vitally essential that the children shall be compelled to attend school rather than be forced at an early age into industry. The enormous number of illiterate children in our great industrial states is appalling. In Wyoming, where women have voted for nearly half a century, there are fewer illiterate children than in any other state—only 72 in the entire state.

So long as women are prevented from voting, so long will they be kept out of positions for which they are eminently fitted. A few years ago I had an interview with the man who was then governor of New York. He was eager to appoint as chief factory inspector someone who had had experience, was honest, intelligent and capable. I suggested a woman who had been chief factory inspector of Illinois for four years, and had done expert work for the U. S. Labor Bureau. She had had all the necessary experience; she had only lost her office in Illinois because she had been too honest and impartial in enforcing the law; she was unusually strong, energetic, intelligent, capable and forceful; and yet, because she was a woman, the governor admitted candidly to me that he could not consider her as an available candidate. The voters would wish him to appoint a man! So he appointed a man; a man who was inefficient, but who had the backing of a portion of his voting constituency. And the man who was appointed first deputy-inspector had been

elevator boy at the Capitol in Albany. Running elevators was all the training he had for this important position.

On one occasion when I spoke before an assembly committee on the mercantile bill, I called on the governor, who has since died, and told him I had come to Albany in the interest of the working girls. Being a close personal friend, he did not hesitate to say frankly to me that he was not interested in working girls; they had no votes!

I have known repeated cases where women who have done faithful service in public office have had their positions taken away from them merely to enable some voter to obtain the coveted place.

I have often had my attention called to the fact that the women holding municipal or government positions get pitifully low salaries compared with the men who do similar work. Efforts to have their salaries raised meet with discouraging results. Such an authority as Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor, has said: "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."—Woman's Journal, March 5, 1904.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

Political Equality Series

Vol. II. Subscription Price 10c per Year. No. 10.

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

"Captivated Calves."

By Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

In an editorial headed "Wisdom of Miss Corelli," the Louisville Courier-Journal says:

"From London there come stealing hither, either upon the soft wings of the transatlantic zephyrs or dashing along the cable that stretches from shore to shore, some fragrant words of wisdom. It is not often that Marie Corelli drops her boiler-yard imagination long enough for mere wisdom, but this time that is exactly what she has done.

"She lifts her dulcet voice against woman suffrage. Man-hater though she is, she concedes that man is not altogether a creature to be despised and defied and trampled upon, And it is with the value of man's esteem for woman in mind that she opposes votes for women. She does not bother herself about questions of equality and justice and all that; to her the one great desire is to preserve the sex as something to be adored of men—to keep woman on a pedestal. 'If', says she, 'woman has, as the natural heritage of her sex, the mystic power to persuade, enthrall and subjugate man, she has no need to come down from her throne to mingle in any of his political frays.' She avers, with great plausibility, that she can now direct fifty men's votes at

election in any way she chooses, but she says that that power would be destroyed if she had a vote of her own."

We are all familiar with the picture of the hen-pecked husband whose wife wants to vote, but will not some cartoonist show us these fifty hypnotized Englishmen meekly marching to the polls to execute the will of a woman who does not want to vote? Those who hold the doctrine that a woman should express her will at the polls indirectly instead of directly might learn from such a picture that woman's indirect influence means indeed the "subjugation of man." When Sir Roger de Coverley found himself "enthralled" and "subjugated" by that widow with "the finest hand in the county," he still retained enough common sense to realize his condition, and aptly described himself as a "captivated calf."

A woman has a right to influence a man's political views by appealing to his reason, but to enthrall and subjugate a man by appealing to his senses, and to send him thus befuddled to the polls, is to make of him a "captivated calf."

Think of Miss Corelli and her "captivated calves," and then think of a husband and wife in Colorado walking to the polls side by side, one voting the Democratic ticket, the other the Republican, and each respecting the other's rights.

Wouldn't you rather be the Colorado man than the captivated, subjugated English calf?

As a matter of fact, however, we think Miss Corelli is drawing on her imagination when she says there are fifty men whose votes she can direct. Woman-like, she over-estimates her "mystic power to enthrall and subjugate" men.

When Senator Zeb Vance was first married, he said to his wife:

"Now, my dear, I have one request to make of you: Make me do just as I darn please!" It is very easy to subjugate a man to the point of making him do as he pleases, and this. probably is all Miss Corelli has done in the case of those rather mythical "fifty men."

Kentucky women understand the art of enthralling men, but I never knew one who could make a Democrat vote the Republican ticket, or vice versa.

Some years ago there was a very exciting election in Kentucky. One of the candidates was bitterly opposed by many women. One of these was lamenting to a friend that she could not get her husband to promise not to vote for the objectionable candidate.

"Lock up all his clothes on election day, so that he can't go to the polls," suggested the friend.

"Lock up his clothes!" was the reply. "Why, he'd go to the polls naked!"

This man probably voted wrong, but at any rate he was not a "captivated calf."

The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their views without the preliminary performance of subjugating some weak man.

Miss Corelli, an anti-suffragist, argues for a woman's rights to express her opinions through a man who gives up his own opinions in order to express the woman's. I, a suffragist, argue for a man's right to ex-

press his own opinions unsubjugated and unenthralled by any woman. Curious? Not at all. A woman who respects her own rights will always respect a man's rights, and a woman who boasts that she can direct fifty men's votes in any way she chooses, would be likely to make her husband wash the dishes and tend the baby while she wrote a "Romance of Two Worlds."

Theoretically, most men favor the idea of women exerting an indirect influence on politics, but if women should develop political opinions at variance with their husbands' and try to put the indirect influence idea into practice, there would be an immediate revolt in favor of direct voting.—Woman's Journal.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of 10 Political Equality leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 3 Park St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

The "Unanswerable Argument"

By Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain
(Eliza Calvert Hall)

It is asserted that "the average good American woman's indifference to woman suffrage" is an unanswerable argument against the movement.

If this be true, there is an unanswerable argument against every good work and every reform movement of the present day, or of any past day, for it is a fact that "the average good American woman," and her brother, "the average good American man," are shamefully indifferent to the things that make for the public good.

A knowledge of sanitary science is a good thing. The average American woman living in a town without a drainage system will permit the cook to throw dish-water and kitchen garbage into the back yard, and the average American man, unless deterred by law, does not hesitate to expectorate on the public pavement and the floors of public buildings. Is this indifference to sanitary precautions an unanswerable argument against sanitary science?

The men and women who are working to abolish child labor encounter a vast indifference to this subject on the part of legislators and the people at large. Is this indifference an unanswerable argument in favor of child labor?

Seventy-five years ago, women did not go to college. When the agitation for the higher education of woman began, the indifference of the average American citizen arrayed itself against education for women. Was this indifference an unanswerable argument in favor of illiteracy for women?

There was a time when a married woman could not make a will, and a married woman's wages belonged to her husband. So indifferent were the average men and women to this injustice that it was years before married women obtained property rights. Was this indifference an unanswerable argument against granting woman the right to dispose of her own possessions by will, and to collect and spend the wages earned by her own toil?

But why go further in citing parallel cases? There are two classes of people in the world. In the women of one class, a keen sense of justice is developed. In the other class, the sense of justice is so undeveloped that women belonging to this do

not object to a condition of disfranchisement that reduces them to the political level of the idiot, the lunatic, the felon, the minor and the illiterate negro of the South.

This large class of women is well described as "average," and by mere force of numbers these average women may continue for a long while to have things their own way. But human progress means the setting aside of the opinions and wishes of average people, and in the long run the world is governed by the small first class, the men and women who love justice, who know what justice is, and who, by this love and knowledge, are raised above the "average."—*The Woman's Journal, April* 11, 1908.

WILL WOMEN VOTE?

The Colorado Secretary of State, in a letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, says 80 per cent. of the women of Colorado register, and about 72 per cent. of them vote.

The Wyoming Secretary of State, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, says 90 per cent. of the women in Wyoming vote.

The Chief Justice of Idaho and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement, saying that "the large vote polled by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest."

In Australia, at the last national elections, 628,123 men voted and 431,033 women.

In New Zealand, when equal suffrage was granted, out of the 139,915 adult women in the

colony, 109,461 registered to vote, and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565 and in 1905, 175,046.

In none of these places had the majority of women ever asked for the ballot. In all of them, the opponents of equal suffrage had vehemently asserted beforehand that the women did not want it, and would not use it if they had it.—*Alice Stone Blackwell in Woman's Journal of Aug.* 22, 1908.

The small school vote of women is claimed as a proof that women would not use the full ballot if they had it. But, wherever school officers are chosen at a separate election, only a small fraction of the men ever turn out to vote. Statistics collected by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, of Evanston, Ill., show that in Illinois the number of men voting at a school district election can often be counted on the fingers of one hand. At one such election, only two men voted. In New York, State Commissioner of Education Skinner several years ago publicly asserted that in the country districts, where the school elections are held separately, the vote of the men is about as small as that of the women.

As a rule, the small elections call out only a small vote, while the large elections call out a large one. This is equally the case with men and women.

Political Equality Leaflets, sample set, 10c.; per 100, 15c.

Published at National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Bible for Woman Suffrage

By Bishop J. W. Bashford

Many reforms have been greatly hindered by false interpretations of the Bible.

Opponents of woman suffrage generally go back as far as Genesis for arguments, but even then they do not go back far enough. They stop with a true account of the false relation into which man and woman were thrown by sin, and quote this account as the original charter for mankind: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." If they will only go back to the creation of Adam and Eve, and to their natural and divine relation before the fall, they will fail to find a sentence which hints at the subordination of woman. Woman was not made in man's image, neither was the dominion of the world committed to him alone. On the contrary, the record plainly says: "In the image of God created He him, male and female created He them, and God said: Let them have dominion over all the earth."

Now when Adam and Eve descended from the sphere of spirituality to the animal sphere, when they turned from a life of faith to follow appetite, God said to man that even nature should rebel against his animal life: "The earth shall bring forth thorns and thistles." The history of every drunkard and man of lust proves that nature fights against him, and confirms the prophecy.

And God said to woman that in this lower animal life with man she would be constantly worsted: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Six thousand years of history have proved the terrible truth of this prophecy.

And yet this declaration of woman's subordination—which does not belong at all to the account of her original creation, and which is directly due to sin, and which we see sprang from the very nature of the two and from the sinful contest on which they then entered—is quoted repeatedly as the divine declaration of the ideal state of the sexes, and we are constantly told that any attempt to change it is a violation of the divine constitution. As well might one declare that the thorns and briars which God said the earth should bring forth on account of man's sin are an expression of the ideal attitude of nature toward man, and that we violate the divine constitution in tilling the soil and improving its products.

Again, the whole effort of Christ was to restore to mankind what was lost in Adam. "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let them have dominion over all the earth"?

Paul wrote the letter to the Corinthians, and all his other letters, not from the platform of rights, but from the higher platform of love. He declares in the ninth chapter that he has, from

the standpoint of justice, a clear right to payment for his labor, but refuses it; says he has a plain right to eat any kind of meat, but declares that if meat cause his brother to offend he will eat no meat while the world stands. He asks the Jews and Romans who may be in Corinth, not to confess Christ in Hebrew or Latin unless an interpreter is present, tells the women to keep silence in the meetings and obey their husbands, forbids the slaves to contend for their freedom, but to choose service rather. He even says: "Let no man seek his own but every man his neighbor's good," and the argument fitly culminates in the marvelous exaltation of love in the thirteenth chapter.

After reading Paul's letter as a whole, who would dream of affirming that Paul is writing, not an apotheosis of love, but a magna charta of personal rights? As well might we say that the fact of his taking no compensation for his labor, that his command to Jews and Romans not to confess Christ at Corinth, is proof that they had no right to confess Christ in Hebrew or Latin, and that his prohibition of any man to seek his own is proof that a man has no right to his property, as to say that Paul's command to women to keep silence in the churches, and to obey their husbands, is proof that they had no right to speech or liberty.

But still more, as if Paul foresaw that his words on the subjection of women might be tortured into falsehood, in this very letter to the Corinthians, after mentioning the historical fact that the man is the head of the woman, he adds, "Nevertheless, neither is the man without woman nor the woman without the man in the Lord";

and in Galatians he declares unqualifiedly: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Our children will be as much astonished that we could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of women in the face of this last clause, as we are now astonished that slave-holders and Jews could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of the slaves and the Gentiles in the face of the first two clauses.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Published monthly at National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c. to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality Leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

THE BIBLE

ON

WOMEN VOTING

THE BIBLE
ON
WOMEN VOTING

There are many modern problems to which no Bible Concordance can give us a clew. There are social questions today pressing for solution which Christ never named in words. He never said specifically that we should drag the little girl widows of India from the funeral pyre; that we should unbind the tortured feet of Chinese women; that we should keep little children from work in underground mines; that we should make sanitary our prisons or do Red Cross work. Nor did Jesus say in so many words, "Let women vote."

But Christianity *will* solve these newer problems if we study the spirit of Christ's words and then apply the treatment most in accord with His life and teachings.

No class needed Jesus more than did women. Their long continued slavery, their degradation, their ignorance, the age-long suppression of every aspiration, made them the saddest class to whom Christ came.

He was a friend who differed from every human friend women had ever gained. The kindness of men had been limited to the women they made their slaves or their toys, but Christ's kindness extended to every woman who came before Him. He did not slight the Sa-

maritan woman of alien blood; He did not chide the mothers with little children who doubtless wearied Him. He did not repulse the Magdalene with her box of precious ointment, nor did He scorn the woman taken in sin, but He looked beyond to her equally guilty accusers and administered this rebuke: "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her."

He gave no encouragement to Martha's notion that every woman's place was in the kitchen. He said Mary had chosen that better part.

He said that He came to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that were bruised.

Women knew that they were poor, were broken-hearted and bruised. They were bound by custom, were captives of greed and lust and were the most powerless of human beings. They endured all the sufferings of the men of their own rank and in addition the slights and abuses heaped on them because they were women. They better appreciated the need of the gospel of love, of peace, of equality, of benevolence than could the sanctimonious Sadducee, the hypocritical Pharisee, or the purse proud publican. Christ told them that He came that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly. To their empty lives, to their starved hearts, to their longing minds, this was a glorious prospect, the prospect of an abundant, rich, full life. They recognized in His gospel the greatest uplifting force that had ever come to women. So they were numerous among His followers, last at the cross and first at the sepulcher.

The Jews to whom Christ came were

better prepared than any other existing nation for a just recognition of women. They had learned in the books of Moses that men and women were made of the same flesh and blood, and that over the newly created world they had been given joint dominion.

They easily explained woman's subservient position as a punishment for sin, and every Jewish mother hoped her coming child might lift the curse from her sex. Perhaps some thought the Genesis statement, that woman should bring forth her children in sorrow and be subject to her husband, a divine command for all ages. Some early Christian teachers so construed it when they forbade the use of any anesthetic by a woman in childbirth, on the ground that God wanted women to suffer. Who could worship or love so cruel a God? Our God never wanted women to suffer, to be humiliated, to be degraded. Some one's sin, doubtless the sin and neglect of many, are responsible for women's physical suffering and social degradation. This statement in Genesis was not a law, but a prophecy of what the future held for women—a prophecy fulfilled by the sufferings of millions of wives and mothers through thousands of years. This prophecy should no more be called a command of God than the statement made at the same time to man, that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his face and that he should eat the herb of the field. If that also is a command to endure through countless generations, then any man who eats meat is wicked, for it was said that he would eat herbs, and any man who eats without perspiring is flying in the face of his Creator. This is no more absurd than to claim that

God ordained women to suffer and to obey.

The scientists of today quite agree with the Genesis parable concerning creation; that creation was in the ascending scale, first the lower creatures, then the higher animals, then man, and last at the apex the more complex woman. The order of creation affords no argument why women should obey men, though Paul in I. Tim. 2:13 so seems to regard it. It might rather be a reason why men should obey women. The question as to joint government was foreshadowed in the Genesis statement, "to them" that is male and female humanity, "gave he dominion."

The Jews, it is true, were for centuries only semi-civilized, and were always somewhat affected by the less civilized heathen nations near them. We cannot expect to find their early treatment of women a model fit in every respect for modern twentieth century men to follow. But they strove toward better things. Their Ten Commandments directed the honoring of mothers as well as fathers. Even their calling women unclean at certain times so protected women from lustful approach that the health and purity of the Jewish people have been a marvel down to the present day. Even the provision for a bill of divorcement gave women a certain legal standing not granted among nations where a wife could be cast off with no reason at a husband's pleasure. Moses recognized the daughters' right to a share in their father Zelophehad's inheritance, evidently the early beginning of women's property rights.

The Jews showed liberality toward the brilliant women who could do work commonly accounted too high for women.

Miriam composed and sang her song, as did Mary her Magnificat. Deborah led her armies to victory and then for forty years ruled her people in peace. One great victory did not make her covet the title of a great warrior. She sought rather to cultivate the arts and industries which best flourish in times of peace. Huldah, the prophetess, and Anna, the priestess, did their holy work with none to object because of their sex.

The Jews' high ideal of what women might do, and be, was set before them in the last twenty-one verses of the last chapter of Proverbs. A lofty type of womanhood is there pictured, a woman well developed in every department of learning and endeavor, a woman who might well typify all the brilliant women of even this country. Into this portrait of the ideal woman were doubtless put traits from the lives of many great Jewish women. It was a composite word picture. This ideal was like the Ten Commandments, a great and noble image of perfection toward which they constantly strove. These verses, before the days of books, passed from one generation to another by repetition. Parents taught their children to recite such poems, and these children in turn taught their own little ones. Doubtless Mary taught these words and many other psalms and proverbs to Jesus after the manner of Jewish parents. She could do it. Mary's own Magnificat showed her to be a woman of lofty feeling, patriotic sentiment, fervent piety and intellectual strength. Sons of such mothers respect women. These words may have been the very ones which were most responsible for Christ's kindly treatment of women, for by no word or look or gesture did He treat them as inferior to men.

To women after His resurrection was the first command given to spread abroad the tidings that he was risen. Not only the Marys but many other women were among the faithful workers in the early church. They helped form the audiences and they were among those who preached or prophesied. The four daughters of Philip prophesied, with no criticism concerning their sex, and Dorcas was a renowned almoner of the early church.

The great leader Paul had taught them many things about liberty and the kindly treatment of slaves. To him one human soul (Onesimus, a slave) was as great as another (even Philemon, the master). Paul taught them that there was neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but that they were all one in Christ Jesus. He frequently recognized and approved of women's work in the church. Among the women commended by Paul or honorably mentioned by him were Phoebe, Priscilla, Mary, Junia, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, mother of Rufus, Julia, Nereus' sister Claudia, and Apphia.

Some have claimed that Paul wholly opposed women's preaching and recommended to them only humbler tasks. But a careful reading of all his letters will show that he was only trying to conform somewhat to the customs of the day then prevalent among the Eastern peoples, and was advising a line of conduct which might draw toward women the least possible criticism. He plainly recognized them as preachers when he advised them to keep their heads covered when they preached or prophesied (I. Cor. 11:5), or when they prayed (13th verse)—only a becoming deference to Eastern custom. He commanded (Phil. 4:3), "Help those women which labored with me in the gospel." His commendation of Phoebe,

who succored many, even himself, and who served the church in Cenchrea, doubtless as deacon, his frequent references to Priscilla, who trained Apollos how to preach, show his attitude toward the dignified utterances of holy women. He recognized (I. Tim. 1:5 and 3:15, Acts 16:1) the valuable training Timothy had received from his mother Eunice and grandmother Lois, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures." Timothy's father was a Greek from whom he could not have learned this.

It is true that he advised the Corinthian women about what to wear when they prophesied, and also asked them to keep silence (I. Cor. 14:34), adding that it was a shame for them to speak, or (properly translated) to chatter in the church. So it would be now. It would be a shame for men or women so to behave. But the Corinthian women were not graduates of universities and theological schools, as some women are today. Whatever it was Paul meant, he plainly intended it for those of ancient times and not for us today under such different conditions. His kindness to the humble (Rom. 15:1)—"We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak"—might well rouse men to help women; and his encouragement—"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free"—should spur women to help themselves. When we cease our scrutiny of these few verses and read all Paul wrote we discover a great love for liberty and justice which today would doubtless place him with John Stuart Mill, Jacob Bright, Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison and other men who have stood for woman suffrage.

Peter, too, is another whose words about wifely submission have been translated by our opponents to mean, "Do not let women vote." Now voting has nothing to do with obeying a husband. We may or may not obey and yet be disfranchised. Being disfranchised is worse than obeying the command of our own husbands; it means obeying the laws made by every one's else husband. If Peter meant that all women everywhere should obey whatever sort of a husband each might have, sober or drunken, honest or knavish, chaste or dissolute, intelligent or ignorant, kind or cruel, pious or blasphemous, then on that subject Peter was not inspired. Even the best of husbands today may sometimes err in a command to a wife, and a discreet and pious wife will use her own best judgment as to when she should obey and when she should disobey. Our vow to our church pledges us to obey God, our oath of allegiance to our native land pledges us to obey our country's laws, regardless of our husbands' orders. Governments no longer punish a husband for a wife's crime. She must go to jail or be hung for her own deeds. So she is wise to consider before she obeys. Peter shows his unfamiliarity with scripture in holding up Sarah as an example of obedient wifehood. She may have called Abraham "Lord," to flatter his vanity, for all of Laban's relatives were "up to tricks," but when it came to poor Hagar and innocent Ishmael, Abraham obeyed Sarah. Perhaps Peter intended a humorous touch when he advised wives to obey as Sarah did; that is, to obey when it suited them.

Peter's words, too, should all be read, to appreciate fully his words to wives. He who found it so hard to be patient

and submissive, recommended to all submission as a cardinal virtue. "Be subject to every ordinance of man, . . . king, . . governors. Honor the king. Servants be in subjection to your masters. Wives be in subjection to your husbands. Ye younger, be subject unto the elder. Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another." So if any husband ever quotes Peter as authority for wifely obedience, the wife in turn may quote Peter's words, "Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another."

Paul also commended to all, both men and women, "Submitting yourselves one to another" (Ephesians 5:21), and "Put on therefore humbleness of mind" (Col. 3:12).

The women today who graduate from universities and lead great reform movements are different from the majority of women to whom Paul and Peter wrote. We today carry out the spirit of these writings in conforming generally to the laws and customs of the nations among which we dwell, changing as these nonessentials differ.

With Christ's example before us, with Paul's words that there is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus, but that we are all one, and Peter's words to husbands and wives that they are heirs together of the grace of life and should be of one mind, what ought we to do to bring our present civilization up to the high standard set by the Gospel? We must first admit that Christianity has been the inspiration which has already partly lifted women out of the degradation of heathenism and the bondage of the dark ages. But it has not yet brought woman full freedom for self-development and helpfulness. It has not yet made her man's political equal throughout

Christendom. There are more important matters before us today than whether a woman should speak veiled or unveiled, whether she should wear jewels or not, and whether her hair should be braided or not.

Women should be joint guardians with their husbands of their children. They should have an equal share in family property. They should be paid equally for equal work. Every school and profession should be open to them. Divorce and inheritance should be equal. Laws should protect them from man's greed by limiting the hours of woman's labor, and protect from man's lust by punishing severely vile assaults on women. Women under official custody should be under the control of women. Troubled childhood should be safeguarded. All these desirable reforms can only come through the vote of women, and such laws have been passed where women vote. To secure this vote for women in the United States Christian women must unite.

Christian men are in power in all European countries, in America, both North and South, in Australia, and in great portions of Africa and Asia. If they will carry out in their laws Christ's teachings concerning women, there will be freedom and justice through civilized nations, and Christian women coöperating powerfully with Christian men will help bring in the era of peace on earth and good will to men promised by the angels 1900 years ago.

CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH.

Political Equality Series

Vol. I. Subscription Price 10c. per Year. No. 10.

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

MRS. LIVERMORE ON SUFFRAGE

BY MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Women are filled with a divine passion for being helpful. They have not merely toiled for our soldiers, but in innumerable departments of philanthropy and reform they are doing everything in their power to put a lever under the lowest stratum of society and to raise it. And all this is but the beginning. I see our young women growing up with this large-heartedness and passion to help, and it all points to the larger opportunities for usefulness for women that are coming.

Women are to be more, and to do more, and to stand side by side with their brothers and spur them on.

Since women are already able to do so much, why not stop talking about suffrage? people sometimes ask me. Because legal injustice always begets social injustice. In every statute book we are put down as legally inferior. Do you deny it? Who

shall not vote? Women and idiots; women and paupers; women and criminals, unless pardoned out. In what a category we are placed! The ballot is the synonym and symbol of equality in a republic. We must have this symbol of equality before women can do their best work in any department of life. Now, they are most of the time trying to undo the mischief done by others, or by the law. Women are allowed to look after the defectives and unfortunates, but they want to get back behind the causes of pauperism and insanity, and in nine-tenths of the cases these result from bad laws.

Women have no antagonism towards men. We love men quite as well as we ought to, and often better. We condone even too much. They only need to beckon at any moment, and we are ready to help to the uttermost. It is this very wish to help that makes us long for the ballot.

During the Civil War, the major of the 20th Indiana Regiment was brought to my house in Chicago, with seven partly healed wounds, received at Gettysburg. In his eagerness to get home, he had started before he was fit to travel. He got as far as Chicago, and every wound reopened. His mother was a friend of mine, and I took

him in. He told me that in the beginning of the battle his regiment was stationed on a hill among the reserves. The smoke hid the battlefield; they could not see what was going on, and the screaming of the shells was so terrible that he found himself trembling with fear. He said to the comrade nearest him, "When we are ordered into action, if I start to run away, shoot me. Promise me that you will!" His friend answered, "Make me the same promise, for I am in the same condition." After a while the smoke blew away, and they could see, on a hill opposite other reserves, including the 18th Indiana. Presently the other reserves were ordered down, and the major cried, "Boys, there goes the 18th Indiana into the fight!" It was a magnificent sight. Down they came like one man, till the masked battery opened fire on them. The grape and canister tore through them, mowing great swaths. On they went, keeping step and time, making their way around the great mounds of dead. And the 20th Indiana watched in agony the slaughter of their comrades and friends, and the major cried, "O God, why don't they call us reserves into action? We could charge down the hill and spike those guns!"

I think of this as I read the papers; I think of it as I go among the slums. I say to myself, "O God, why do not these beloved men, the halves of ourselves, call on us, their reserves? We could save them." The same lesson comes to us from our sick and wounded soldiers; it comes to us in all our work for the uplifting of society. It is this that makes me — now facing my 78th birthday — still keep asking that we women may be classed not with State prison convicts, but with the men of our own households, whom we have helped to make and rear.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Ballot and the Telephone

Before the Senate Suffrage Committee hearing a Albany, N. Y., February, 1907, Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller spoke as follows:

"I sympathize with the anti-suffragists. I sympathize with them, and I pity them, for I have been, for a short time, and in a way, an Anti myself. Not in regard to the use of the ballot by women, for I was born a suffragist and have continued an enthusiastic suffragist; but I was an Anti toward the use of the telephone in my own house! That seems absurd, does it not? But I didn't want a telephone. I knew that we should come to it some day (as here and there an anti-suffragist admits in regard to the ballot), but I wanted to put off the day, for I knew when it came we should never again consider life complete without a telephone. We had hitherto lived very comfortably, and, we hoped, usefully, without one. When we wanted things done, 'we called out our horses and called out our men,' after the ancient custom. I realized, however, even then, that there were others to whom the telephone was a necessity. I rather pitied them, as I clung to what I called my freedom from the added responsibility of this new connection with life outside the home, but I knew in my heart that the

days of my conservatism were numbered. They came to an end very naturally through an awakening to the needs of others. My eyes were opened to the selfishness of my position. The lesson was brought home to me very simply: Mr. William Smith, of Geneva, who has recently given the earnings of a life time for the education of women at Hobart College, asked me to act as his trustee on a board which at that time was composed solely of men. These men wished to consult me frequently; they used the telephone; I must have one. I now have two telephones.

"As I listened yesterday to the anti-suffragists who spoke against our bill to extend to women the tax-payers' privilege of voting on tax propositions in twelve of the third-class cities of the State, I was reminded of my own one-time attitude toward the telephone. Their objections seemed to me be be based as mine were,

"1. On an entire satisfaction with the old way.

"2. On a reluctance to open a new avenue of responsibility in a life which seemed already filled. But I awoke, as I am sure my sister Antis will soon awake, to the selfishness of such a position.

The telephone is a necessary tool of the civilization of our time. Through it we get together to do all sorts of things. The ballot is a special tool of the government of our country (at present a quasi-democracy), and the moment we decline its use, either for ourselves or others, we are cutting

ourselves and others off from the legitimate use of a necessary means to the creation of better civic conditions.

"No true democracy can exist until every intelligent individual, 'by no means excluding women' (as Lincoln said in this connection), makes use of that intelligence through the ballot."

Miss Miller added in behalf of her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller:

"In the early days of the suffrage movement, its advocates were often called 'shrieking sisters.' For more than 80 years my mother has, like 'Brer Fox', kept on 'saying nothin',' consequently she has not earned a place on the platform in the ranks of that denomination. Nevertheless, she is an ardent woman suffragist, and she is happy to represent by her presence before this assemblage a family which for five generations has been closely associated with the suffrage cause.

"She asks me to say to you that her father, Gerrit Smith, was the cousin of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and her staunch ally in her agitation for the rights of women; also that her great granddaughter, Dorothy Smith Miller, of Petersboro, has recently been created a life member of the New York State W. S. A. She trusts and believes that, before a sixth generation appears on the scene, the suffrage movement will be a matter of history — that its Equality clubs, their present occupation gone, may be centers of education and inspiration to a better citizenship than our State has ever

known. She asks you to help in every possible way the achievement of this result, for she considers political equality for women a vital necessity in a real and permanent democracy."

WOMEN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Mrs. Clarence H. Mackay, who has done so much to improve the schools of Roslyn, L. I., says in the N. Y. World:

"I want to vote because I think it will improve the educational system of the whole country. There ought to be a woman on every school board in the United States, and we shall never get this until women are voters. Educational work needs a feminine mastery of detail and a thorough understanding of children. What does a man know about his children's school? It is the mother who hears the spelling lessons, and gets sent for when Johnny isn't promoted. It is women who make the best teachers, and why shouldn't they make the best managers? They know that whipping a child is no way to make him love knowledge.

"I have found in my work in the Roslyn schools that I understand and have been able to remedy a great many difficulties that have never been reached before. Look at the Colorado system; it is known all over the world. This was built up entirely by Mrs. Grenfell.

"Then, too, why shouldn't women who pay taxes have a vote as to how the money is to be spent? It would be another matter if women were exempt from taxes. But, as it is now, it is merely another case of taxation without representation. Many women think it would be unfeminine to vote, but it needn't be at all. When it comes to the actual casting of the ballot, I can think of a dozen ways to make it as attractive as a bridge party. And as for neglecting the home and the family, it is for the betterment of these that we want the ballot."

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

Two Working of a Bad Law

It is said by the opponents of equal suffrage that the laws are already more than just to women. In 33 of our 46 states, the husband has the sole legal ownership of the children. Most husbands are so much better than the law that most wives never even find out how bad the law is. But Lora S. La Mance, of Pineville, Mo., gives in the Woman's Journal two true instances, showing how the law works when an unscrupulous man takes his full rights under it.

"Mary Wilson, a bright, amiable and accomplished young woman, married James Head. She found him a cold-blooded man who would have coined his wife's heart blood into money if he could. She made the best of it. While he was as unpopular as a man could well be, his patient, much enduring wife had the full respect of the community. Children were born to them. The oldest two were boys, both fine looking lads, uncommonly tall and forward for their age. The civil war came. Again and again came calls for men. A draft was instituted. One

of the drafted men offered James Head $300 if he would send his oldest boy in his place. The boy lacked a month or two of being fifteen, but looked older. The unnatural father closed with the offer. Eighteen was the legal age of enlistment, but recruiting officers were not over-scrupulous in war times. The poor boy, torn from his almost frantic mother's embrace, was hurried away. A little later he was killed.

"Another draft was ordered, and again a neighbor of James Head's was taken. The second son, a warm-hearted 'mother's boy,' was now just past fifteen. Again James Head sold his own flesh and blood for a few hundred dollars. 'God help me!' screamed the unhappy mother, as they took her boy from her. 'John was sold to his death; must Willie be murdered, too?'

"They marched him away from the old pine woods he would see no more, from his weeping mother and tearful little sister. Down in the southland he pined until so ill he had to be sent to the hospital. Nostalgia, the army surgeon called it, or homesickness in an excessive degree. And of homesickness he died, lacking three days of being fifteen years and three months old. Never again did the poor mother know a happy day. Her life was shortened by her ceaseless grief.

"The law gave this unnatural father the right to send his minor sons into the army in spite of their mother's protests. They were his children. She had no rights in them.

"Another instance. Elsie Dean married a man her parents disliked. Her father said some furious things, that stung Thomas Wall, the girl's husband, into a white heat of passion. The men never became friendly. The petted girl found her married life a stern reality. There was every year a new baby. When the oldest child was but eleven, the ninth baby was laid in its mother's arms. Alas! she had given her life for it. When it was evident she must die, her husband allowed her sister to come and see her, but not her parents. The dying wife gave the baby to her sister. Then, over and over, poor Elsie begged and pleaded with her husband to allow her parents to see the children, and to help look after them. When she could no longer speak, she still made signs, pleading for this.

"Thomas Wall was a poor man. His wife's people were well to do. They offered at once to take all nine of poor Elsie's children, and keep them together in their own good home. They not only offered this, but begged for the privilege. It was Thomas Wall's inning now. He threw back in the almost crazed father's teeth the hateful things he had said when Elsie married. He openly gloated over the fact that he could now strike them a vital blow. He taunted them that the sister could not so much as keep the baby given her. The child was his by law, and not the mother's. He told them he would give every child away, scatter the nine children to the four winds, but they

should not have one. And he kept his word. He gave three of the children away under assumed names, so that the grandparents could not trace them, and let them go to utter strangers in other states. Not a child did they get. The law did not recognize that his wife had a joint guardianship with him. Even her death-bed bequest had no legal force. This happened in one of our most progressive states in the year 1898."

It is often said that women do not need to vote, because they can get the laws changed by indirect influence. But the indirect way is needlessly long and slow. After sixty years of effort by the advocates of equal rights for women, equal guardianship has been established in only 13 out of the 46 states of the Union. In Massachusetts the change was not made till 1902 — 55 years after Massachusetts suffragists began to ask for it. Toward the close of the struggle, sixty-four other societies united with the Suffrage Association in petitioning for justice to mothers. The only organization of women that ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question was the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." For six years that society circulated, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the sole ownership of the children to the husband.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

Women In the Home

By SUSAN W. FITZGERALD

We are forever being told that the place of woman is in the HOME. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minster, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and of decency, for what they turn out to be.

How Far Can the Mother Control These Things?

She can clean her own rooms, BUT if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad airs and smells, or from being infested by vermin.

She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and her refuse, BUT if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, BUT if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are insufficient or not fireproof, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, BUT if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious dis-

cases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, BUT if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

ALONE, she CANNOT make these things right. WHO or WHAT can?

THE CITY can do it, the CITY GOVERNMENT that is elected BY THE PEOPLE, to take care of the interests of THE PEOPLE.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

FIRST, the officials of that government; and,

SECOND, those who elect them.

DO THE WOMEN ELECT THEM? NO, the men do. So it is the MEN and NOT THE WOMEN that are really responsible for the

Unclean houses,
Unwholesome food,
Bad plumbing,
Danger of fire,
Risk of tuberculosis and other diseases,
Immoral influences of the street.

In fact, MEN are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold WOMEN responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have, LET THEM VOTE.

Women are by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
Published Monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York

What is a Democracy

By SUSEN W. FITZGERALD

We call our country a democracy, and pride ourselves upon its being one. WHAT IS A DEMOCRACY? A democracy is a form of government where the final power rests in the people. Not a PART of the people; that makes an oligarchy or a monarchy; but where it rests in the WHOLE PEOPLE.

Are the MEN of this country the WHOLE people? No. Therefore, so long as the men alone are the source of power of the government, it is not a government OF the people, FOR the people and BY the people, IT IS NOT A DEMOCRACY. It is merely a country under class rule, the CLASS being MEN, who, after all, represent but half of the population: half of those that live under the laws they make.

You may say that women are just as well off without the right to vote. SOME ARE; OTHERS ARE NOT. Many of the slaves in the South were better off, in material ways, before the Civil War than they were afterwards, but that did not make it right for the owners to hold them in slavery. Just so, the men of this country have no right to hold the women in POLITICAL slavery. And one of the worst things about slavery was the bad effect it had upon the masters. The political slavery of women is not uplifting to the masters.

This is the day of PROGRESS. A country must progress, or it will fall behind and another will take its place. A Democracy cannot progress unless its people is growing in intelligence and moral force. We that believe in Democracy claim that the use of the ballot is the chief means of developing in the citizens this intelligence and moral force. The women are deprived of this great means of development and therefore must fall behind. Can the race advance and develop as it should, when one-half hangs like a millstone about the neck of the other half?

Give women the vote, and LET THEM GROW WITH THE MEN.

You may say that women don't want to vote. SOME DO NOT; OTHERS DO. And many of these others not only WANT to, but NEED to, for the protection of themselves and their children. IS IT RIGHT that those that do not want to should say to these others that NEED to, "We do not WANT to vote, so YOU SHALL NOT VOTE"?

Do you know what people are most against women's voting? It is the women of means, in comfortable circumstances, who do not need it for the good of their bodies, and do not realize that they need it for the good of their souls, and who are AFRAID to let their working sisters have it. Why? Because they are afraid of the PEOPLE, afraid of the WORKINGMAN, afraid of DEMOCRACY. They think that the women's vote will strengthen the workingmen's vote—the popular vote—and they are AFRAID. And they may well be afraid, if they do not trust in the people, for the real people are going to WIN, and the day of their victory will be hastened when women can vote.

Of especial value to persons interested in the industrial question are the following

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
15c per 100

The Division of Labor, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

Persuasion or Responsibility? by Florence Kelley.

The Wage-Earner and the Ballot, by Maud Nathan.

Woman Suffrage Endorsed.

Women in the Home, by Susan W. Fitz-Gerald.

What is a Democracy? by Susan W. Fitz-Gerald.

Women and the Vote, by Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.

Please send orders for literature to Headquarters Secretary.

For Suffrage news read *Woman's Journal,* 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass. Edited by Alice Stone Blackwell.

Subscribe for PROGRESS
(Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.)
Price 25c. per Year.

Published Monthly at National Headquarters,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York
Sample set Political Equality Leaflets, 10 cents

Women and the Vote

By MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN

Every year more and more women are going into industry. Why is this?

1. COST OF LIVING is rising, and in many families the woman's wages are needed to eke out the family income.

2. THE STANDARD OF LIVING is rising, and workingmen's families demand better conditions, and MUST have a larger income to meet them.

3. Women living in cities can no longer help sustain the family by farm work, dairy work, or by spinning and weaving; therefore their only ways of helping to provide for the family are,

EITHER to take work home, which in most cases produces the evil results of sweat-shop work with poor conditions of work and poorer pay;

OR to go out to work in factory or shop.

Now, IS the woman's work a help to the family in the long run?

NOT SO LONG AS WOMEN ARE CHEAP LABOR.

Every Union man knows how dangerous and harmful is the competition of child labor; it is dangerous BECAUSE IT IS CHEAP, and cuts down the man's wages.

Women's labor, AS LONG AS IT IS CHEAP, is just as dangerous, and for just the same reason. When women organize and vote they will get EQUAL PAY for EQUAL WORK, and they will not longer compete unfairly with men. Then men's wages will improve, and, though fewer women will be employed at the higher wages, this will not be a hardship, because the increase in the man's wages will give the family the larger income needed, without its being necessary for so many women to work outside the home.

Woman Suffrage Co-equal With Man Suffrage

(FROM THE PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Woman suffrage has been endorsed not only by the American Federation of Labor, but also by the State Federations of Labor of

California,
Connecticut,
Colorado,
Iowa,
Illinois,
Indiana,
Kansas,
Maine,
Maryland,
Massachusetts,
Michigan,
Minnesota,
New Hampshire,
New York,
Ohio,
Oklahoma,
Oregon,
Pennsylvania,
Tennessee,
Washington,
West Virginia.

The **National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York,** will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, published at 25c. a year, at Headquarters. **We need your name. You need our news.**

Subscriptions also taken for **"Jus Suffragii,"** the International suffrage monthly, $1.00 a year, and for the **"Woman's Journal,"** published weekly, at $1.50 a year, at 6 Beacon Street, Boston, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

All interested in the cause of equal rights are **urged to contribute** towards carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the **National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.**

Women in the State

By U. S. Senator George F. Hoar

It is less than forty years since the movement for woman suffrage began to assume serious proportions. The men and women who took up the advocacy of this cause had to encounter prejudices which had existed since the foundation of the earth. The relation of woman to man was a relation of inferiority and of incapacity to act for herself in all the important transactions of life. Woman was not permitted to vote; she could hold no office, except that by a strange anomaly she could occupy the throne of some of the most powerful and highly civilized monarchies of the earth. The married woman could hold no property; could make no contract; had no lawful control over her own children or her own person; she could not make a will; the customs of society shut her out from the learned professions and from all profitable occupations. It was

deemed unbecoming for her to speak in public, and in many parts of the world to appear in public without an escort. On the continent of Europe and in the mines of Great Britain she was condemned to the most brutal and degrading occupations, and was sometimes harnessed to the plow with bullocks, or on all fours drew loads over the tramways of mines. If those who ask now that the vote of women shall be counted in the United States have any prejudice to encounter, let those who feel it remember that forty years ago it would have seemed far more monstrous to do away with the condition of things that I have described, than it does today to count the votes of their wives, their sisters, or their mothers.

Today, woman manages her property; she is admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and to the pulpit; she manages the postoffice; she is librarian of the public library; she conducts the school; she practices medicine; she is head of the hospital; she has elevated the calling of the trained nurse to a high rank among liberal professions. No man can be found so conservative as to desire to take a backward step in any of these things.

Meanwhile the State has been making an equal advance. Universal suffrage has become the rule here, and large extension of the ballot has become the rule in all free States. The negro has become a freeman and a citizen. Everywhere that domain of the State which is represented by force is contracting and that domain of the State which is represented by public spirit, by charity, by humanity, is enlarging. When men thought of government a century ago, they thought chiefly of the jail, the criminal court, the police and army. Today, they think chiefly of the college, the technical school, the asylum, the road, the library, the postoffice, the hospital and the home. The rank of the State among civilized nations is measured by its colleges, its schools of art and science, its institutions for reform, for the cure of the insane, for the education of the blind and the deaf and dumb. The town points with pride to the excellence of its libraries, its schools, its churches and its roads.

Now the debate between the advocates of woman suffrage and its opponents is, to my mind, but a contest between two theories of the function of the State. If the State is to do nothing or to do little but to raise and discipline armies, to build jails, and to estab-

lish police courts, the less woman has to do with it the better for her, and the better for the State, except that even here the State must largely depend upon her for the instrumentalities which are to diminish the evils of war and lessen its horrors. If, on the other hand, it is so to use its forces as to put an end to these things; if education, justice, science, art, charity, the promotion of commerce and manufacture, the healing of disease, the promoting everywhere of increased reverence for the individual soul, be a function to which its great forces are to be devoted in the future, then it is indispensable that woman should have in its management her full and equal share.—*From an address delivered at Amherst, Mass., Sept.* 24, 1891.

Subscribe for PROGRESS, Official Organ of National American Woman Suffrage Association, published monthly at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published Monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York

FREDERICK C. HOWE ON SUFFRAGE

For a generation the ideal of municipal administration has been a business man's government. It is toward that ideal that reformers have been working. We measured our success by a low tax rate, by economy, by getting our money's worth out of government. The highest ambition was a business man for mayor. In reality we have a business man's government. And that is the root of our evils. The ideals of the stock exchange control our municipalities.

We spend millions for business purposes, for the promotion of the industry of the community. And yet, when any organization goes to the City Hall for thousands for school purposes, it is met with the response that the city is too poor. We can spend millions for docks, but not thousands for playgrounds, for baths, for gymnasiums, and means of recreation for the poor. Our attitude of mind is that of business. Privileges whose value runs into the millions are handed out of the City Hall windows. There is no city where they are not in excess of the municipal debt.

Business has sent millions of our people to the slums. We have not had time to care for our poor. We have not had time to build places of recreation. In our beautiful parks

we put up signs "Keep off the grass," in order that those who use the boulevards may enjoy looking at the green grass. It is business, big business, but at the same time little business. The idea that the city is a place to get money out of, is the explanation.

In going from one city to another, I have found that the "boss" came sometimes from one party, sometimes from another; but always, directly or indirectly, he was buttressed by some big business interest that wanted to use the city at the expense of its citizens. Those ideas are changing. A new order is coming in. It is expressing itself in a new ideal, the ideal of the city for the people; not the city for business, but the city as a place to live in; not a place for charity, but for justice, and the abolition of privilege.

The city of Cleveland has been described as the best governed in America. In some departments it is the best governed in the world. It has taken its workhouse out into the country, and put it on a fifteen-hundred-acre farm. It turns loose three hundred convicts with not even a wire fence to keep them from escaping, and they work in the fields all summer. During the long summer only four men disappeared. And the only people who cared were the other prisoners. They said: "Shame on those men who have broken their parole!" Cleveland has taken the bad boys off from the streets and put them on a large farm in the country. There they have organized. They have made one boy mayor, others are policemen, and so they run it themselves, with a few older men to look

after them. They work in school and on the farm, instead of following the cycle through the police court, through the reformatory, back to the police, and then to the penitentiary. When the boys leave this farm school, they are as proud of it as the boy who graduates from college. The city thus gives the boy a chance.

There is an upward movement in all our cities. We are endeavoring to work out democracy.

When it is possible to organize the ideals of this new democratic movement, it will stand for two or three things. It will be a city not for men alone. It will be a city for men and women. It is business which has made our cities take the illogical position that women should not participate in municipal affairs because they know nothing about business. We invite women back to municipal affairs, as the chief corrective of the evils which underlie most of our municipal problems. I believe in woman suffrage not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women. Any community, any society, any State, that excludes half of its members from participating in it, is only half a State, only half a city, only half a community. Woman Suffrage does not interest me so much because woman is a taxpayer, or because of justice, as because of democracy; because I believe in the fullest, freest, most responsible democracy that is possible. The city of the people will be a man and woman city, a city for all. A city for the people must have for its families the

influence of art, and culture, and education, and ease, and happiness. Those are women's things as much as men's things. The city for the people will elect its officials for other than party reasons, and it will keep men and women in office who give good service. It will use very simple machinery for nomination and election. Added to that, it will have the initiative and referendum, because that is pure democracy. It is a democracy of the people, and wherever it has been tried, it is admitted to be a cure for corruption. The initiative and referendum puts the responsibility of government on the backs of those who must bear it.

This city of the people, for the people, will not be satisfied to see two-thirds of its houses in slums, as in New York. It will be a city seeking to scatter its population into the country; and that is possible. Do you think, if the administration of a city sets its mind to the simple question of how to make the city more agreeable and happy, that it could not do it? It will be possible in the city for the people.—From an address given by Hon. Frederic C. Howe at the National Suffrage Convention in Baltimore, Feb. 9, 1906.

Subscribe for **PROGRESS**, Official Organ N. A. W. S. A. Published monthly at the National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price, 25 cents per year.

DOROTHY DIX ON WOMAN'S BALLOT

Women Ought to Vote, Because—

Taxation without representation is tyranny, whether the individual who pays the taxes wears trousers or petticoats, and because all just government must rest upon the consent of the governed.

Women form one-half of the population, and as long as they have no voice in the government they are held in serfdom. It is not just that, merely by reason of sex, one-half of the people of the country should rule the other half.

It is folly to say that women are represented by the votes of the men of their family. No man is willing to sacrifice his suffrage and let his father or brother vote for him.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they are unlike men, because they have different aspirations, different needs, a different point of view, a different way of reaching conclusions. Feminine talents, which are invaluable everywhere else in life, should be equally useful in politics.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because every question of politics affects the home, and particularly affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because their vote would supplement man's, and, while he looked after the big things, they would look after the little things. The man might interest himself in making his country a world power, the woman voter would see that the street-cleaner did his duty so that her children might not be killed by diphtheria.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they would look just as much at the candidate as they would at the platform upon which he stood. It is practically impossible to put the party yoke on women. This has been proven in the States in which women have suffrage. When a clean man was put upon either the Democratic or the Republican ticket and a corrupt man named on the other ticket, the woman

vote invariably has flopped over to the good man. It was the women of Denver, irrespective of party, who kept Judge Lindsey in office after the party committees had turned him down, and thus enabled him to continue his great work of child-saving.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE, if for no other reason than because women, if they had a chance, would be just as potent a factor in politics as they are in religion. They would compel men's interest in the subject.

Everybody knows that if women ceased going to church, shut up all the missionary societies and preachers' aid societies, nine-tenths of the churches would have spider webs growing across their doors inside of a month. Practically all of the men who go to church and contribute to religious causes do so at the instigation of wife, mother, sister or sweetheart.

The majority of good men are responsible for the rottenness of politics and for our plundered and misruled cities, because they are careless about voting, and often do not trouble to vote at all. Women would have a better civic conscience, and if they were given the ballot they would not only vote themselves, but see that their husbands and brothers and sons did.

It is often said that if women had suffrage, it would increase the number of votes cast without affecting the result, as

every woman would vote like her husband, or her brother, or her father. The chances are that the influence would work the other way,. and men vote with their women folks.

In America the majority of girls are given a better education than boys. They go to school longer, and they read more after they are out of school than young men do. There are also millions of middle-aged women banded together in all sorts of study clubs all over the country, and it is folly to claim that these women are not as well qualified to understand any political question as their husbands are.

That all women would not vote wisely that they would be swayed by eloquence, by the personal charm of the candidate; that even the ballot would not bring the millennium to women, is freely conceded. But the majority of men are Republicans or Democrats for no better reason than that their fathers were before them, and this is still a very badly governed world. Yet no one would advocate that man's most precious right—the right of suffrage—should be taken away from him.—*Dorothy Dix, in San Francisco Examiner of Aug.* 14, 1908.

Published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Political Equality Series

Vol. IV. Subscription Price 10c per Year. No. 11.

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

MR. AND MRS. SAPSEA

(By Israel Zangwill.)

The idea that underlies the objection to women's suffrage is expressed with engaging frankness by Dickens' Mr. Sapsea, the auctioneer in "Edwin Drood." Mrs. Sapsea revered Mind, as embodied in Mr. Sapsea. "When I made my proposal," says Mr. Sapsea, "she did me the honor to be so overshadowed with a species of Awe as to be able to articulate only the two words 'O Thou!' meaning myself." After years of admiration, Mr. Sapsea tells us, his wife died of feeble action of the liver, still addressing him in the same "unfinished terms," and after her death it occurred to her husband that perhaps his superiority was what she had died of. "There have been times," he says, "when I have asked myself the question, what if her husband had been nearer on a level with her? If she had not had to look up quite so high, what might the stimulating ac-

tion have been upon the liver?" He carved over her grave:

ETHELINDA,
Reverential wife of
MR. THOMAS SAPSEA,
Auctioneer, Valuer, Estate Agent, Etc.,
OF THIS CITY.
Whose knowledge of the World,
Though somewhat extensive,
Never brought him acquainted with
A Spirit
More capable of
LOOKING UP TO HIM.

Of course, it is very pleasant to be addressed by one's wife as "O Thou," but, like so many pleasant things, it is not good for one. It was not good for Mr. Sapsea to imagine himself so superlatively sage; in fact, it only increased his natural silliness.

Today Mrs. Sapsea has turned suffragette. She no longer cries "O Thou!" She no longer leaves the phrase unfinished. Today it is "O Thou Hypocrite!" at gentlest, "O Thou Monopolist!" She no longer cranes her neck looking up so high, and I assure you it has quite a stimulating action on her liver. She is shaking off the lethargy of the ages, and it is making her healthier, brighter and even prettier. It is in vain that Mr. Sapsea shrieks desperately that he is superior in every department, and that her vote will make a hash of the affairs of the country, which he has been managing to such universal satisfaction.

There is a Heathen Chinee edition of Mr. Sapsea, and he tells us that the women of his coun-

try can never compete in walking or running with the men—they are an inferior race. But we tell Mr. Ching Chang Sapsea, let him leave off crippling his women's feet in infancy, before he decides that no woman can be a champion pedestrian. And let us westerns give our women freedom to follow their own genius before we decide they have none.

Those of you who have traveled in the East will be familiar with the strange ghostly spectacle of shrouded and masked women whose faces may only be seen by their lords, and who pass the bulk of their days hidden away in a harem, eating sweetmeats and talking petty gossip.

This shocked you: but will not the civilized observer of the future be equally shocked at the limitations we have placed upon the rights and liberties of our own women? They are only yet half out of the harem. Mr. Sapsea is only a monogamous Turk.

But the Turk's day is over. In our generation women have made their way into almost every department of life. After you have let them work in your factories and workshops, in your gardens and postoffices and counting houses, after you have let them practice medicine and study law, it is too late to turn them back, or to refuse them the rights of their new position. Those who object to female suffrage, who say that woman's sphere is the home, should have kept her there. Too late to turn the key on her now—she is not at home.

The fact is, that important as is the sex-division in some things, it does not stretch across the

whole of life, sex has no meaning in politics, any more than in dinner parties.

Men and women pray in the same church and dance to the same music. Both sexes have far more in common than they have points of difference. Why should one sex be shut out of the polling booth? Why is Florence Nightingale's opinion of the candidate for her constituency less valuable than the chimney-sweeper's? We demand votes for women, not because they are women, but because they are fellow-citizens. It is nobody's business to inquire what sex a voter is, any more than what color the voter's hair is. Once get it into your head that the claim of women rests not upon their being our rivals, but upon their being our comrades, and you will escape tangling yourself in a whole network of fallacies.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

THE MODERN CITY AND THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN

By JANE ADDAMS

NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue :: New York

All Interested in the Cause of Equal Rights are Urged to Contribute toward carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the ***National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.***

The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women

By Jane Addams.

We all know that the modern city is a new thing upon the face of the earth, and that everywhere its growth has been phenomenal, whether we look at Moscow, Berlin, Paris, New York or Chicago. With or without the medieval foundation, these cities are merely resultants of the vast crowds of people who have collected at certain points which have become manufacturing and distributing centers.

As the city itself originated for the common protection of the people, and was built about a suitable center of defence which formed a citadel, so we can trace the beginnings of the municipal franchise to the time when the problems of municipal government were still largely those of protecting the city from rebellion from within and from invasion from without. A voice in city government, as it was extended from the nobles who alone bore arms, was naturally given solely to those who were valuable to the military system. There was a certain logic in giving the franchise only to grown men, when the existence and stability of the city depended upon their defence, and when the ultimate value of the elector could be reduced to his ability to perform military duty. It was fair that only those who were liable to a sudden call to arms should be

selected to decide as to the relations which the city bore to rival cities, and that the vote for war should be cast by the same men who bore the brunt of battle and the burden of protection. We are told by historians that citizens were first called together, in those assemblages which were the beginning of popular government, only if a war was to be declared or an expedition to be undertaken.

But rival cities, even St. Louis and Chicago, have long since ceased to settle their claims by force of arms, and we shall have to admit, I think, that this early test of the elector is no longer fitted to the modern city.

It has been well said that the modern city is a stronghold of industrialism, quite as the feudal city was a stronghold of militarism; but the modern cities fear no enemies and rivals from without, and their problems of government are solely internal. Affairs, for the most part, are going badly in these great new centers, in which the quickly-congregated population has not yet learned to arrange its affairs satisfactorily. Unsanitary housing, poisonous sewage, contaminated water, infant mortality, the spread of contagion, adulterated food, impure milk, smoke-laden air, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, unwholesome crowding, prostitution and drunkenness, are the enemies which the modern cities must face and overcome, would they survive. Logically, their electorate should be made up of those who can bear a valiant part in this arduous contest, those who in the past have at least attempted to care for children, to

clean houses, to prepare foods, to isolate the family from moral dangers; those who have traditionally taken care of that side of life which inevitably becomes the subject of municipal consideration and control as soon as the population is congested. To test the elector's fitness to deal with this situation by his ability to bear arms is absurd. These problems must be solved, if they are solved at all, not from the military point of view, not even from the industrial point of view, but from a third, which is rapidly developing in all the great cities of the world—the human-welfare point of view.

There are many evidences that we are emerging from a period of industrialism into a period of humanitarianism, and that personal welfare is now being considered a legitimate object of government. The most noticeable manifestation of this civic humanitarianism is to be found in those cities where the greatest abuses of industrialism and materialism exist, where a thousand conflicts arise between the individual interests and the social interests. It is in these cities that selfishness is first curbed and the higher social feelings developed, and in them men learn to submit to a minute regulation of their affairs which they would find intolerable anywhere else.

Because the delicate matters of human growth and welfare cannot be nurtured by mere brute strength, a new history of municipal government begins with a serious attempt to make life possible and human in large cities which have been devoted so exclusively to industrial affairs that they must plead guilty to Ruskin's indictment,

that they are unspeakably ugly, and unnecessarily devoid of green and growing things.

A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. If American cities have failed in the first, partly because office-holders have carried with them the predatory instinct learned in competitive business, and cannot help "working a good thing" when they have an opportunity, may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of its civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the national navy, in a pure spirit of reversion to the traditional type of government, which had to do only with enemies and outsiders.

It is difficult to see what military prowess has to do with the multiform duties which, in a modern city, include the care of parks and libraries, superintendence of markets, sewers and bridges, the inspection of provisions and boilers, and the proper disposal of garbage. It has nothing to do with the building department, which the city maintains that it may see to it that the basements are dry, that the bedrooms are large enough to afford the required cubic feet of air, that the plumbing is sanitary, that the gas pipes do not leak, that the tenement house court

is large enough to afford light and ventilation, that the stairways are fireproof. The ability to carry arms has nothing to do with the health department maintained by the city, which provides that children are vaccinated, that contagious diseases are isolated and placarded, that the spread of tuberculosis is curbed, that the water is free from typhoid infection. Certainly the military conception of society is remote from the functions of the school boards, whose concern it is that children are educated, that they are supplied with kindergartens, and are given a decent place in which to play. The very multifariousness and complexity of a city government demand the help of minds accustomed to detail and variety of work, to a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children, and to a responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people.

Because all these things have traditionally been in the hands of women, if they take no part in them now they are not only missing the education which the natural participation in civic life would bring to them, but they are losing what they have always had. From the beginning of tribal life, they have been held responsible for the health of the community, a function which is now represented by the health department. From the days of the cave dwellers, so far as the home was clean and wholesome, it was due to their efforts, which are now represented by the Bureau of Tenement House Inspection. From the period of the primitive village, the only public sweeping which was performed was what they undertook in their divers dooryards, that which is now

represented by the Bureau of Street Cleaning. Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity; but, in spite of this, so soon as these old affairs were turned over to the care of the city, they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise. Because the franchise had in the first instance been given to the man who could fight, because in the beginning he alone could vote who could carry a weapon, it was considered an improper thing for a woman to possess it.

Is it quite public-spirited for woman to say: "We will take care of these affairs so long as they stay in our own houses, but if they go outside and concern so many people that they cannot be carried on without the mechanism of the vote, we will drop them; it is true that these activities which women have always had are not at present being carried on very well by the men in most of the great American cities, but, because we do not consider it 'lady-like' to vote, we will let them alone"?

Because women consider the government men's affair, and something which concerns itself with elections and alarms, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they bear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death-rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use

of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives. Are we going to lose ourselves in the old circle of convention, and add to that sum of wrong doing which is continually committed in the world, because we do not look at things as they really are? Old-fashioned ways, which no longer apply to changed conditions, are a snare in which the feet of women have always become readily entangled. It is so easy to be stupid, and to believe that things which used to exist still go on, long after they are past; to commit irreparable blunders because we fail to correct our theories by our changing experience. So many of the stumbling blocks against which we fall are the opportunities to which we have not adjusted ourselves! We keep hold of a convention which no longer squares with our genuine insight into life, and we are slow to follow a clue which might enable us to solace and improve the life about us, because it shocks an obsolete ideal.

Why is it that women do not vote upon these matters which concern them so intimately? Why do they not follow these vital affairs, and feel responsible for their proper administration, even although they have become municipalized? What would the result have been could women have regarded the suffrage, not as a right or a privilege, but as a mere piece of governmental machinery, without which they could not perform their traditional functions under the changed conditions of city life? Could we view the whole situation as a matter of obligation and normal development, it would be much simplified. We

are at the beginning of a prolonged effort to incorporate a progressive, developing city life, founded upon a response to the needs of all the people, into the requisite legal enactments and civic institutions. To be in any measure successful, this effort will require all the intelligent powers of observation, all the sympathy, all the common sense which may be gained from the whole adult population.

Let us take up in detail two or three of the distinctive problems of the modern city, Chicago, if you please, discovering as fairly as we may the traditional attitude woman has held toward these problems, and how far it would be but natural that she should contribute toward their solution were she but possessed of the municipal franchise. To instance three of these problems:

(1) Insufficient regulation of industrial conditions.

(2) Americanizing of immigrants who live in cities.

(3) The great increase in juvenile criminality which modern cities present.

The statement is sometimes made that the franchise for women would be valuable only so far as the educated women exercised it. This statement totally disregards the fact that those matters in which woman's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education. The sanitary condition of all the factories and workshops, for instance, in which the industrial processes are at present carried on in great cities,

intimately affects the health and lives of thousands of working women. It is questionable whether women today, in spite of the fact that there are myriads of them in factories and shops, are doing their full share of the world's work in the lines of production which have always been theirs. Even two centuries ago, they did practically all of the spinning, dyeing, weaving and sewing; they carried on much of the brewing and baking, and thousands of operations which have been pushed out of the domestic system into the factory system. But simply to keep on doing the work which their grandmothers did was to find themselves surrounded by conditions over which they have no control. Sometimes when I see dozens of young girls going into the factories of the American Biscuit Company on the West Side of Chicago, they appear for the moment as a mere cross section in the long procession of women who have furnished the breadstuffs from time immemorial, from the savage woman who ground the meal and baked a flat cake, through innumerable cottage hearths, kitchens and bake ovens, to this huge concern in which they are still carrying on their traditional business. But always before, during the ages of this unending procession, women themselves were able to dictate concerning the hours and the immediate conditions of their work. Even grinding the meal and baking the cake in the ashes was diversified by many other activities. But suddenly since the application of steam to the process of kneading bread or turning the spindle, which really means only a differing motor power and not in the least

an essential change in her work, the woman has been denied the privilege of regulating the conditions which immediately surround her. Even the sweatshops in which she carries on her old business of making clothing had to be redeemed, so far as they have been redeemed, by the votes of men, who passed an anti-sweatshop law, by the city fathers who, after much pleading, were induced to order the inspection of sweatshops, that they might be made to comply with sanitary regulations. That this pleading and persuading was done in Chicago by women, simply shows the stupidity and indirection of the entire situation. Women directly controlled the surroundings of their work when their arrangements were domestic, but they cannot do it now unless they have the franchise, as yet the only mechanism devised by which a city selects its representatives, and by which a number of people are able to embody their collective will in legislation. For a hundred years England has been legislating upon the subject of unsanitary workshops, long and exhausting hours of work, night work for women, occupations in which pregnant women may be employed, and hundreds of other restrictions which we are only beginning to consider objects of legislation here. When it comes, however, American women will have no vote, and no opportunity to indicate how far it is reasonable to attempt legislative regulation, although English women, so far as these regulations are municipal, are more fortunate.

To consider the second problem, which we are pleased to call the Americanization of im-

migrants: At present, in our efforts to introduce the newcomers from Greece, or Italy, or Poland, or Syria, to American institutions, we pin our faith upon the immigrants' ability to understand the Constitution of the United States, although we could select nothing from our complex governmental arrangements so remote from their daily experiences as is this Constitution. The immigrants who are learning to obey the law in Chicago, those who are most rapidly realizing something of governmental standards in America, are probably those who are required to conform the life and education of their children to the present child-labor and compulsory education laws. An Italian peasant from the country where he has quite properly picked oranges and olives from the time he could toddle, does not realize the different surroundings of work in the city, and what it means to put a little child into a factory. When he learns that his child cannot earn money until he is fourteen, and that he must send him to school until then, because these are American conditions, he begins to realize that the governmental demands from him a sacrifice, because a democratic government implies an educated citizen, and that the immigrant to a democracy must pay the cost. The advantages of our government are not to be obtained by simply learning about a constitution, but must be bought through blood and tears, as it were; but this sort of legislation, which demands sacrifice, which raises the standard of life and education, and through his family and immediate surroundings really touches the immigrant, is exactly the

kind of legislation in which his wife is quite as much interested as he is. Immigrant women are entitled to their opportunities for understanding and discussing the laws and ordinances which surround them.

We might illustrate from the Greek, who slaughters a sheep in his own basement, as in the Homeric period. He has come from a Greek village, and the difference between the old village life and the life in a great city must be made clear to him by a very concrete experience. Perhaps nothing will so dramatize the difference for him as the fact that he endangers the health of his neighbors by continuing his old customs, and that to live in a city means to make sacrifices for it, and to adapt yourself to your neighbor's chance for health. Yet all these things of domestic arrangement and neighborhood relation belong naturally to women, who alone remain during the day in the neighborhood composed of households, while the men of the same families, the electors in whom is lodged the power to regulate and control these matters by legal enactment, are working in factories, shops or offices in the commercial and industrial districts of the city.

The old social problems were too often made a cause of war in the belief that all difficulties could be settled by an appeal to arms. But certainly these subtler problems which confront the modern cosmopolitan city, the problems of race antagonisms and economic adjustments, must be settled by a more searching and genuine method than mere prowess can possibly afford.

We are accustomed to say, even in regard to

federal affairs, that a sense of national stability is of even more fundamental importance than national defense. We add to that, and this applies to the city government as well, that anything which diminishes the elector's love of country or interest in its preservation is a menace to the nation; and in the past great stress has been laid upon ownership and that sense of responsibility which property entails. But in the modern city the renters outnumber the landlords a thousand fold, and the ownership of the home becomes less frequent as we leave the farm and the village and proceed to the great centers. As the modern city dweller looks about for other forms of investment as a substitute for real estate, so we must appeal to those interests which are more general, more primordial, and much more trustworthy, in our effort to substitute in the modern city the sense of stability for the spirit of defense. If one could connect these old maternal anxieties, which are really the basis of family and tribal life, with the candidates who are seeking offices, it would never be necessary to scold either men or women for remaining at home on election day.

To consider the third problem: The one place at which government is increasing its function perhaps most rapidly in the cities, is that in relation to juvenile criminals, largely in connection with the newly established juvenile courts. We are getting an entirely new set of machinery with which we may deal with the bad boy, as we call him, although he may not be bad at all; we can hardly diagnose him yet, he is so new,

or rather, the crowded city conditions which have produced him are so new. Officers are appointed and paid from public funds to watch over the boy who has once been brought into court. They see to it that he is properly employed, and that he has no chance to go very far astray. Who is it that should vote upon the election of a judge for the juvenile court, or be interested that the court should be properly instituted and its powers adequately curbed? Shall we say only the busy men of the city, or only the men and women with property? What in regard to the mothers of these same boys, and the teachers who have had to do with them day by day, until they know their weaknesses and temptations, better perhaps than any one else? Shall they have no vote upon matters touching the functions of the juvenile court? In Denver, where the women have the franchise, a very remarkable juvenile court judge was not nominated as a candidate on either ticket in a recent election, because he had failed to please the politicians of either party. The women of Denver, by petition, put Judge Lindsey upon an independent ticket and elected him. It was not merely the women interested in the philanthropic activities of Denver; they were joined by the women who had seen the lives and known the experiences of the boys, and who had realized the beneficial results of the juvenile court, and who wished to have them continued.

It is interesting to find that, even in the one department of city government in which military defense is still entrenched, the one place in which the old type of government naturally survives, the

police department—even here the old ideals are calling upon the new for help. The police are asking that the street gangs shall be turned into boys' clubs, and Boston, at least, has gravely considered the erection of municipal buildings to house such clubs. The probation officers insist that healthy amusements must be organized for wards of the court, if they are to be controlled. The police seek help from the school officials that the truants may be kept from becoming delinquents; and next winter groups of women will beg legislators to extend the compulsory education law so that boys of fourteen who do not work may be kept in school until they are sixteen, in order that they may not roam the streets and constantly afford more material for the policeman's club. Although women are naturally greatly interested in the causes and effects of juvenile crime, it is still impossible for a woman in Chicago to cast a vote in regard to any of these affairs. A surprising amount of recent municipal legislation has been the result of charitable efforts in which women have borne their full share. The determined effort to control and eradicate tuberculosis is an example of this, as is the supplying of pure milk to the children of the poor, which in Rochester, at least, has become a municipal function; or the school nurses who have been instituted in New York and Baltimore.

We certainly may hope for two results if the municipal franchise be granted to women: (1) An opportunity to fulfill their old duties and obligations with the safeguards and the con-

sideration which the ballot alone can secure for them under the changed conditions; and (2) the education which participation in actual affairs always brings. As we believe that woman has no right to allow the things to drop away from her that really belong to her, so we contend that ability to perform an obligation comes very largely in proportion as that obligation is conscientiously assumed.

Out of the medieval city, founded upon militarism, there arose in the thirteenth century a new order, the middle class, whose importance rested, not upon birth or arms, but upon wealth, intelligence and organization. They achieved a sterling success in the succeeding six centuries of industrialism, because they were essential to the existence and development of the industrial era. Perhaps we can forecast the career of woman, the citizen, if she is permitted to bear an elector's part in the coming period of humanitarianism, in which government must concern itself with human welfare. She would bear her share of civic responsibility, not because she clamors for her rights, but because she is essential to the normal development of the city of the future.

Some Reasons Why

By MRS. ANNA CADOGAN ETZ

Since the powers that work for good—the churches, the schools and most other reform bodies—are composed largely of women; and since the powers that work for harm—the saloon, the gambling places and most outgrowths of commercial greed—are managed by men, how could society be otherwise than benefited by granting suffrage to women?

Since the women outnumber the men in the churches only in less degree than the men outnumber the women in the jails and reformatories, what logical person need fear that the vast number of good, intelligent American women would be outnumbered by the insignificant number of bad women, at the polls or anywhere else?

Since the ballot is universally conceded to have been a means of defense in the hands of the laboring man against the greed of capital, who can doubt that it would have a similarly good influence in raising the wages of the thousands of poor working

girls in our cities, who are often forced to choose between starvation and the loss of honor?

The hundreds of thousands of little children working long hours in factories and mines, surrounded by conditions dangerous to health and fatal to morals; the poor young girls struggling against impossible odds to make an honest living in our cities, are powerless to help themselves. If life is to be made safe for the weak and helpless, it must be done by the strong, who realize the danger to society from any part of it being permitted to live in the midst of disease, vice and crime.

Good laws are the safeguard against bad conditions. This is a commercial, not a military age. Finland has just enfranchised her women and denied the ballot to her soldiers. Questions which affect modern society are decided by ballots, not bullets.

Since all the home interests which our grandmothers controlled within its walls—food, water, clothing, education and moral conditions—have passed alike out of the home, and are controlled by boards of aldermen, State Legislatures and Congress, the possession of the ballot is the only way by which women can remain at home and have at the same time a voice in deciding the interests of home.

Women and Crime

Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, National Prison Commissioner, says:

"Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the Legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men."—*Woman's Journal, Aug.* 15, 1908.

According to the latest tabulated figures of the United States census (those for 1904), Alabama had in her state prison and state and county penitentiaries, 1,796 men and 94 women; Arizona, 293 men and one woman; Arkansas, 769 men, 23 women; California, 2.359 men, 24 women; Colorado, 848 men, 16 women; Connecticut, 460 men, 14 women; Delaware, 155 men, 5 women; District of Columbia, 41 men, 5 women; Florida, 1,075 men, 30 women; Georgia, 2,243 men, 82 women; Idaho, 139 men, 3 women; Illinois, 2,383 men, 36 women; Indiana, 792 men, no women; Iowa, 832 men, 28 women; Kansas, 2.279 men, 31 women; Kentucky, 1,872 men, 71 women; Louisiana, 1,296 men, 35 women; Maine, 178 men, 5

women; Maryland, 1,389 men, 113 women; Massachusetts, 1,824 men, 39 women; Michigan, 948 men, one woman; Minnesota, 620 men, 12 women; Mississippi, 1,021 men, 28 women; Missouri, 2,091 men, 72 women; Montana, 436 men, 8 women; Nebraska, 322 men, 5 women; Nevada, 91 men, no women; New Hampshire, 157 men, 3 women; New Jersey, 1,402 men, 69 women; New Mexico, 240 men, 7 women; New York, 5,392 men, 313 women; North Carolina, 631 men, 43 women; North Dakota, 149 men, 2 women; Ohio, 1,587 men, 41 women; Oklahoma, 22 men, no women; Oregon, 332 men, 2 women; Pennsylvania, 1,966 men, 35 women; Rhode Island, 388 men, 63 women; South Carolina, 632 men, 28 women; South Dakota, 193 men, 3 women; Tennessee, 1,575 men, 62 women; Texas, 4,073 men, 117 women; Utah, 171 men, 2 women; Vermont, 259 men, 15 women; Virginia, 1,478 men, 68 women; Washington, 791 men, 4 women; West Virginia, 982 men, 32 women; Wisconsin, 608 men, 12 women; Wyoming, 189 men, 3 women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offenses, women constitute only five and one-half per cent. of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Published at National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York.

Do Teachers Need the Ballot?

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is the general testimony of educators, from President Eliot of Harvard down, that the amount of money appropriated for schools is not nearly as large as it ought to be. Both pupils and teachers suffer from overcrowding, and from the necessity of giving each teacher too many pupils for the best educational results.

What is the reason for this lack of money for the schools? One reason is that the mothers and the teachers have no votes. Money can be found for purposes in which voters are interested. Hon. Frederic C. Howe says: "We spend millions for business purposes, for the promotion of industry. And yet, when any organization goes to the city hall for thousands for school purposes, it is met with the response that the city is too poor. We can spend millions for docks, but not thousands for playgrounds." In New York, it is estimated that there are 80,000 fewer seats in the public schools than there are children of school age. Many children cannot go to school at all, and thousands of others have to be put on "half time." This is an injustice both to the children and to the teacher. The children get only half the time in school to which they

are entitled, and the teacher has her strength worn out by having to teach two relays of children daily.

In Philadelphia the Superintendent of Schools lately called attention to the fact that there were 20,000 fewer seats in the schools than there were children applying for admission; thousands could not get in, and for those who did get in, the accommodations were so poor that children were sitting on broken benches, on boards stretched across the aisles, on window sills, and even on the floor. All this was for lack of money. Yet just at this time the city fathers voted $50,000 of public money to entertain the "Elks," and $10,000 more to entertain the Order of Patriotic Sons of America. This $60,000 came largely from women's taxes, but the women had no vote as to how it should be spent.

Almost everywhere, the schools are pinched for money: but in the equal suffrage States this is not the case. The Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction said to me, "Some people in Colorado grumble about the size of the school tax, but our schools have money enough." Gen. Irving Hale of Denver says: "The extension of suffrage to women has made it easier to secure liberal appropriations for education." Colorado appropriates more money per capita for education than any of the Eastern States, which are so much older and richer.

Of the inadequate amount of money provided for school purposes, the women teach-

ers do not get their fair share. In Massachusetts, the average pay of a woman teacher in the public schools is about one-third that of a man. In New York, the richest city in America, the women teachers are paid so poorly that there are hundreds of vacancies in the public schools for which no teachers can be found. The women teachers of New York have for years been using their "indirect influence" to the utmost to secure equal pay for equal work, but without avail. In Wyoming, where women vote, the law provides that women teachers shall receive the same pay as men, when the work done is the same. (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614.)

The news that Utah had granted women the ballot was quickly followed by the announcement that the Legislature had passed a bill to give women teachers the same pay as men when they held certificates of the same grade. (Revised Statutes of Utah, Section 1853.) The Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction says, "There is no difference made in teachers' salaries on account of sex."

President Thomas of Bryn Mawr College says: "Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. In Philadelphia no woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best-paid and most influential positions in the schools. What is true of Phila-

delphia is true in the main, of the public schools in 42 of the United States; but it is not true in the four states where women vote."

Another bane of the schools, and especially of the women teachers, is the influence of partisan politics. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, who served three terms as State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado, and is highly esteemed by educators there, says:

"After 20 years' experience, I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political, and party affiliation is never considered in the appointment of teachers. I have never heard of a member of a school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board principally Democratic is found in a Republican community, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard of more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo or Philadelphia than on the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil."—(*From address made by Mrs. Grenfell at the National Suffrage Convention, February,* 1904.)

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, published at 25c. a year, at Headquarters. We need your name. You need our news.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS
Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Division of Labor

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Among the better class of opponents of woman suffrage, there is a growing tendency to drop the old argument that women have not intelligence enough to vote, and to base opposition mainly on the "division of labor."

We are told the progress of civilization is marked by a growing division of labor and specialization of industry; that it is in accordance with this to have men take charge of the political work and women of the domestic work; and that to admit women to the ballot would be a return toward barbarism.

It is true that the progress of civilization has been marked by a growing division of labor between man and man and woman and woman, but not between men and

women. Thus in the early days, every man cut down trees and built his own house, raised animals and killed them for meat; and himself cured their hides. Now this work is divided up between the carpenter, the butcher and the tanner. In the old days, every house-wife spun and wove cloth, dyed it, and made it up into garments for her family, and also made butter and cheese, soap and candles. Now this work is divided up among a dozen women and men. The division of labor between individuals has been constantly increasing, but not the division of labor between the sexes. There the trend of things has been just the other way.

A hundred years ago, hardly any occupations were open to women except housework and sewing. Now the census of 1900 shows that out of the hundreds of trades and professions followed by men, the only ones in which no women are found are the work of soldiers and sailors, and telegraph and telephone linemen. Nothing could be more untrue than to say that the progress of civilization is marked by a more and

more rigid division of labor between the sexes.

Some people admit that the trend of the times has been to open more employments to women, but declare that it is a calamity for women to engage in wage-earning occupations outside their homes; and, by an odd confusion of ideas, they make this an argument against equal suffrage. But this is to mix up a political question with a purely economic one. Whether it is right for a woman to vote is one thing; whether it is wise for her to work for money outside her home is quite another. There is no evidence that more women are wage-earners outside their homes in the States where women vote than in the States where they do not. Wyoming has had full woman suffrage ever since 1869; yet, according to the census of 1900, Wyoming has the smallest proportion of unmarried women to its population of any State in the Union, and, presumably, the smallest proportion of women who are obliged to engage in wage-earning occupations outside their homes. On the other hand, Massachusetts and New York,

where women do not vote, have an enormous number of unmarried women wage-earners.

The "specialization of industry" has no bearing on the question. Voting is not an industry. The progress of civilization has not been to restrict the suffrage more and more narrowly, but to extend it to one class after another. The most advanced nations today are not those where all political power is concentrated in the hands of a single despot, but those in which it is most widely shared among the people. And the best government is found where the largest number of the people actively perform their political duties, not where they neglect to vote and leave public affairs to be managed by a small class of "professional politicians."

Subscribe for

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Fruits of Equal Suffrage, I

The advocates of equal suffrage are often asked what practical good it has done where it prevails, and they are sometimes challenged to name a single "law aimed at human betterment" that has been passed in consequence. It is not hard to answer this demand. We point to the following laws:

IN WYOMING

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1869.)

Acts providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay when equally qualified (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Same, Section 4964;) making child neglect, abuse or cruelty illegal (Same, Section 2281;) forbidding the employment of boys under 14 or girls of any age in mines, or of children under 14 in public exhibitions, (Same, Section 2289;) making it unlawful to sell or give cigarettes, liquor, or tobacco to persons under 16, (Laws of 1895, Chapter 46, Section 4;) establishing free public kindergartens, (Same, Chapter 50, Section 1;) forbidding the adulteration of candy, (Laws of 1897, Chapter 39.)*

Making it illegal to license gambling (Laws of 1901, Chapter 65, page 68;) and providing

*This act is incorporated in a Pure Food bill, covering drinks, drugs and illuminating oils. Laws of 1903, Chapter 82, page 102.

for the care and custody of deserted or orphan children, or children of infirm, indigent or incompetent persons (Laws of 1903, Chapter 106, page 134.)

Mrs. F. M. Sheik, of Wheatland, president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs, said in a letter to Miss Amy F. Acton, of Boston, Sept. 12, 1904:

"The women of this State have always voted since the Territorial days, and it will be hard to find anything they have not had a hand in. * * * We have not a good law that the women have not worked for."

IN COLORADO

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1893.)

Laws forbidding insuring the lives of children under 10 years old (Laws of 1893, page 118;) establishing a State Home for Dependent Children, 2 of the 5 members of the board to the women (Laws of 1895, page 71;) requiring that at least 3 of the 6 members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women (Laws of 1893, page 75;) making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father (Laws of 1895, page 186;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Laws of 1895, page 155;) establishing a State Industrial Home for Girls, 3 of the 5 members of the board to be women (Laws of 1897, page 68;) removing the emblems from the Australian ballot—the nearest approach to adopting an educational qualification for suffrage (Laws of 1899, pages 177-178;) establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners (Same, page 233;) requiring one woman physician on the Board of Insane Asylum (Same, page 259;)

establishing parental or truant schools (Laws of 1901, page 364;) providing for the care of feeble-minded (Same, page 177;) for tree preservation (Same, page 185;) for the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State Board of Charity (Same, page 88;) requiring in public schools lessons on humane treatment of animals (Same, page 362;) making the Colorado Humane Society a State Bureau of child and animal protection (Same, page 191;) providing that foreign life or accident insurance societies which have to be sued must pay the costs (Same, page 127;) establishing juvenile courts (Laws of 1903, page 179;) making education compulsory for all children between 8 and 16 except those who are ill, or are taught at home, and those over 14 who have completed the eighth grade, or whose parents need their help and support, and those children over 14 who must support themselves (Same, page 418;) making father and mother joint heirs of deceased child (Same, page 469;) providing that Union High Schools may be formed by uniting school districts adjacent to a town or city (Same, page 425;) establishing a State Traveling Library Commission, to consist of five women from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, appointed by the Governor (Same, page 352;) providing that any person employing a child under 14 in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to a fine (Same, page 310;) requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of household goods used by the family, or conveyance or mortgage of the homestead (Same, Chapter 75, page 153;) forbidding children of 16 or under to work more than 8 hours a day in any mill, factory, store, or other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful (Same, page 309;) providing that no woman shall work more than 8 hours a day at work requiring her to be on her feet (Same, page 310;) making it a criminal offense

to contribute to the delinquency of a child (Same, page 198;) making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents (Same, Chapter 148, page 372;) prohibiting the killing of doves except in August (Same, Chapter 112, page 232;) and abolishing the binding out of girls committed to the Industrial School: girls to be committed till 21 and then if considered reformed, to be paroled (Same, Chapter 115, page 248.)

In Denver, the women voters have also secured ordinances placing drinking fountains in the streets, garbage receptacles at the corners, and seats at the transfer stations of the street cars; forbidding expectoration in public places; parking 23d Avenue and planting trees.

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, says that equal suffrage has also led to a much better enforcement of the laws prohibiting child labor, requiring that saleswomen be furnished with seats, forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and the sale or gift of cigarettes or tobacco to persons under 16, and others of the same general character.

Mrs. Ione T. Hanna, the first woman ever elected to the school board of Denver, and one of the most highly respected women of that city, writes:

"Some results of equal suffrage in Colorado are generally conceded; (1) the improved moral quality of candidates nominated for office by the various parties; (2) a decidedly increased observance of the courtesies and decencies of life at the different political headquarters, previous to election; (3) better and more orderly polling places; (4) general awakening interest, among both men and women, in matters of public health, comfort and safety."

Published at the National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Fruits of Equal Suffrage, II

The following laws are due wholly or largely to the women:

IN IDAHO

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1896.)

Law making gambling illegal (Idaho Laws of 1899, page 389;) raising age of protection for girls to 18 (Same, page 167;) establishing libraries and reading rooms, and authorizing a tax for their maintenance (Code of 1901, Sec. 994;) requiring at least 3 per cent. of school fund appropriated each year to be applied to maintain school libraries, the books to be chosen from list compiled by State Board of Education (Same, Sec. 1065;) establishing a State Library Commission, consisting of the President of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General (Laws of 1903; House Bill 164;) providing for a department of domestic science in the State University (Same, page 433; Senate Bill 110;) and for a course of lectures on domestic science in the Academy of Idaho (Same, page 51; House Bill 52;) establishing an Industrial Reform School (Same, page 12;) House Bill 20;) a Pure Food Act (Same, page 95; House Bill 97;) and giving a married woman the same right to control and dispose of her property as a married man (Same, page 345; Senate Bill 35.)

The last five laws are mentioned as having been secured by the women's clubs, in the report of the Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs, in the Federation Bulletin for June, 1904.

J. H. Hawley, a prominent lawyer of Boise, wrote to Miss Amy F. Acton of Boston, August 21, 1904: "All the laws that you mention were urged by women, and without such advocacy I do not believe any of them would have been passed. For the passage of some of them, the women are absolutely responsible, because it was through their efforts that the members of the Legislature were brought to realize that a condition existed that made the passage of such laws necessary. In particular, the Act of 1899, making gambling a misdemeanor; the act of the same year raising the age of consent; the Acts of 1901 providing for a State Library Commission, and for a tax for libraries; and the Acts of 1903 in regard to the property of married women and a chair of domestic science in the University and Academy of Idaho, were all passed by the efforts of the ladies of the State."

IN UTAH

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1896.)

Laws providing that women teachers in the public schools shall receive equal pay with men for equal work, when holding certificates of the same grade (Revised Statutes of Utah, Sec. 1853; Laws of 1896, page 85; 1897, page 132;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Same, Sec. 4221; Laws of 1896, page 87) establishing free public libraries in cities and towns (Laws of 1899, page 121;) requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by

public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene, including the effects of stimulants and narcotics (Same, Sec. 1829; Laws of 1897, page 127;) creating a State Art Institute (Laws of 1899, page 47;) providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital, on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing (Laws of 1903, Chapter 102;) for a curfew bell at 9 p. m. to keep children under 14 off the streets (Same, Chapter 89;) making it a misdemeanor for any minor under 18 to buy, accept, or have in his possession cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic (Same, Chapter 135, page 186;) providing for the protection of dependent, neglected or ill-treated boys under 14 and girls under 16, and for the punishment of persons responsible for their care who neglect or ill-treat them (Same, Chapter 124;) and requiring the establishment of kindergartens in all school districts having a population of 2,000 or more (Same, Chapter 114, page 139.)

Mrs. Antoinette B. Kinney, 820 East Fourth St., South, Salt Lake City, President of the Utah State Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote to Miss Amy F. Acton, of Boston, August 15, 1904, that the bill creating an art institute was introduced by Mrs. Alice Merrill Horne, the kindergarten bill, curfew bill, and bill for the protection of dependent and ill-treated children, by Mrs. Coulter—Mrs. Horne and Mrs. Coulter being members of the Legislature. Mrs. Kinney continues:

"The women's clubs were very active in securing the passage of these laws, also the anti-cigarette law. The library law, too, was the work of women.

"The bills that relate to women and children have generally been presented by some woman's organization, usually a federated club. The club having the matter at heart asks the endorsement

of every other federated club in the State. Some attorney is asked to draw up the bill, and then someone friendly to the bill to present it. When the bill is up before the Senate or House, the halls are thronged with club women interested in its passage. We have found little difficulty in getting the bills through the Legislature."

Mrs. Kinney writes to another friend:

"In my opinion the results in Utah are overwhelmingly in favor of woman suffrage. Women have been active in securing laws for the protestion of minors, also laws relating to municipal house-cleaning. They have been active in all educational matters. In most cities the question of public libraries is early agitated. Here women have proved themeselves a reserve moral power, sustaining men in their best endeavors. In the places of trust that they hold, their honesty, punctuality and faithfulness are proverbial."

Hon. Martha Hughes Cannon, formerly a member of the Utah Senate, writes:

"As a result (of equal suffrage) our caucuses and primary meetings are conducted with due regard to decorum, our conventions are more deliberative, and the kindly consideration which the American man always shows to woman has induced even the rougher type to consider that political gatherings in which women take part should be conducted in a decent and orderly manner. Woman entered upon the enjoyment of her new privileges with that ready adaptation which distinguishes American women. The State at once adopted an improved system of the Australian method of voting, and women when they went to the polls, found that the disagreeable features which they had been taught to expect did not in reality exist."

Published at **National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.**

Judge Lindsey on Suffrage

Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver, is the highest authority in the United States on Juvenile Courts. He was lately asked what effect a voting constituency of mothers had on the success of the Juvenile Court system in Colorado. He answered:

"The Juvenile Court system has always had back of it the support of the women, especially the mothers of Denver, and whatever success it may be credited with is largely, if not entirely, due to their efforts."

In *Progress* for July, 1904, Judge Lindsey wrote:

"The results of woman suffrage in Colorado, since its establishment more than ten years ago, have been so satisfactory that it is hard to understand how it encounters opposition in other States. I have never observed one evil as the result. I have never heard a criticism directed against woman suffrage that ever worked out in practice, or, if it did, was not equally applicable to male suffrage.

"It used to be said that the women would not vote, that they were not intelligent. I believe, in proportion to population, nearly as many, if not more, women voted at the last city election as men. In no important election has less than forty per cent. of the entire vote been cast by women, and consid-

ering that there are more men than women in this Western city, it is no more than fair to say that the women are equally interested in the affairs of government, and vote as intelligently and as independently as the men.

"One of the greatest advantages which has come to us from woman suffrage is the fear on the part of the machine politicians to nominate for public office men of immoral character or to defeat those who have maintained a reputation for honesty and decency. Again, at critical times and in important elections, when some great principle is at stake, especially with reference to local conditions, where the home and family are involved, the women of the State have always come to the rescue. The powers of evil realize that they have a powerful moral force to deal with when it is once aroused, and they also realize that, when it is aroused, it has the power to strike a blow.

"We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of women, which, at all times, has been back of them and those who have conscientiously and faithfully administered them.

"I know that the politicians in both parties reckon seriously with the woman vote,

and I know that men of immoral character have been refused places upon party tickets because of the fear inspired by the woman vote if it is aroused; and when it is aroused, as it generally is in proper cases, it can always be counted upon to be on the side of righteousness.

"We believe we have the best Juvenile Court law, the best child-labor law, the best compulsory education law, the best laws for the prevention of cruelty to children and the enforcement of the obligations of fathers to support wife and child, and the best administration of these laws when once upon the statute books, of any city in the Union.

"I believe I only voice the general impression of the best informed as to such matters, when I say that we owe this condition more to woman suffrage in Colorado than to any other cause."

In view of the recent assertion by Miss Elizabeth McCracken, a casual tourist in Colorado, that the ballot was a disadvantage to women in their philanthropic work, this statement by so distinguished an expert as Judge Lindsey is of especial interest.

Hon. John L. Shafroth lately resigned his seat in Congress because of election frauds in Denver. This has been quoted as an argument against equal suffrage. But Mr. Shafroth declared in a published interview:

"Of the persons implicated in these frauds, a very small proportion, not more

than one in ten at the outside, were women. He added that cheating at elections is much rarer among women than among men. During the first ten years after equal suffrage was granted in Colorado, only one woman was convicted of illegal voting.

Hon. Alva Adams, who has twice been Governor of Colorado, testified to the same effect at the hearing on woman suffrage before the Judiciary Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives on Feb. 16, 1904.

Mr. W. H. Bryant, president of the Honest Elections League of Denver, said in a letter published in the Woman's Journal of April 9, 1904: "As a result of my own experience in the work of the League, I find that women have practically nothing to do with the fraudulent voting." He added that, of the many corruptionists against whom the League has found it necessary to get out warrants, only two were women.

If more women than men cheated at elections, it would be a fair point against equal suffrage. If the numbers of men and women cheating were about the same, it would not be an argument either way. But since experience proves that election frauds are much rarer among women, this is distinctly an argument in favor of equal suffrage.

Published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

MRS. DECKER ON EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has lived for many years in Colorado. She writes of equal suffrage:

So much has been said and written, both pro and con, upon this subject, that it is difficult to present it in any new phase. I shall attempt to give only an individual opinion upon the following much-disputed questions:

1. Do the earnest, high-minded women of Colorado vote?

2. Does not the vote of the disreputable low class of women counterbalance the vote of the cultivated, thinking class?

3. Is it not the case that women generally vote as the men of their households dictate?

4. Has the woman vote purified politics, and have we banished saloons?

1. In answer to the first question. Yes, most emphatically. I do not hesitate to say that the best women of Colorado have far more conscience in filling their responsibilities as voters than the men of the same class. It is also true that women of standing in the community have great influence with men who are not particularly interested in public affairs.

We are constantly asked by visitors to Colorado, "But how do prominent women, with their many duties and obligations, have time for politics?" To speak to one's grocer, butcher,

stationer, to a conductor on the car or to a cabman, takes only one instant. Then this timid visitor asks, "How do you have time to vote?" as if voting was like eating or bathing. My dear Madame Behind-the-Times, it takes just about one hour in a year to cast all the ballots necessary and allowable.

2. Does not the vote of the disreputable, low class of women counterbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world generally do not vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, names or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified. Occasionally some disreputable master compels these slaves to vote for his own purposes, but that is a rare occurrence.

3. Is it not the case that women generally vote as the men of their households dictate? Such has not been my observation or experience. Among the laboring class, if the wife cannot vote as her husband desires, and he is not willing she should make her own choice, she refuses to vote at all. I have been surprised at the honest maintenance of opinion in this regard among the wives of laboring men. One of the most cultivated, beloved and influential women of the State was sitting as a delegate in one party convention, not long since, while her husband was at the same time addressing another assembly representing opposite party views. But the situation excited no comment. Suffrage makes women "individuals."

4. Has the woman vote wholly purified politics, and have we banished saloons? No, to both

questions. It would be beyond reason to expect such a result. Women have been in churches and in society since the beginning of time, but there are still vicious minds and sinful deeds in both religious and social circles. The most we assert is that if we pour a clear stream into a muddy one, we shall have a "moving of the waters" for betterment. The presence of women at the polls as officers and voters has brought quiet and order, while party conventions are much freer from personal wrangles, profane language and vulgar allusions, because women are sitting as delegates.

All thinking women admit that we have made some mistakes since we have had the right of suffrage. But that has been the experience of all newly-enfranchised people. In the beginning of equal suffrage in Colorado, the woman voters had no guide except the traditions and advice of the men of their families and acquaintance. That teaching was the old one of party politics. We followed a blind lead; and to me it was a terrible awakening to discover that my party was just as bad as the other, and the other party fully as high-minded in its purposes as mine. But in spite of any mistakes, disappointments or discouragements, there is an indescribable uplift in the thought that one is no longer classed with "criminals, paupers, and idiots." There is a splendid womanly independence in being a voting citizen, and an absorbing interest in fulfilling the duty of citizenship; and there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as play-things, nor as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, said in an address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1904:

I am to tell you what a Federation of Women's Clubs has been able to do in a free State where back of influence is the ballot. The ballot is like a key. The Colorado club member is a woman with keys at her gridle, and with these keys she gains entrance to prisons, and places where defectives are kept, and carries a sweetness and light, and a better administration of justice. Instead of woman's influence being lessened, it is greatly increased.

During the last Legislature, there were so many men with bills that they wanted endorsed by the club women that the social science department of the State Federation had to sit one day each week to confer with members of the Legislature who wanted the Federation to endorse their bills. Club women outside the suffrage States do not have this experience.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Published monthly at National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c. to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality Leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, $1.50.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SUFFRAGE CAUSE EARNESTLY SOLICITED. SEND TO HEADQUARTERS.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Ballot and the Schools

By Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, Former State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado.

Women have always had school suffrage in Colorado. The fact has acted as a preventive of the nomination of obnoxious persons. Judge Louis W. Cunningham, of Colorado City, writes:

"In Colorado City, from 1883 to 1893, there were six mayors who were saloonkeepers. During two or three years there were three saloonkeepers in the council, and for one year we had a mayor and three councilmen who lived on the woes of others. Since 1894, when women came to their own, there has never been a saloonkeeper elected to any office in Colorado City. Women have always had a vote at school elections in this State, and, as a consequence, while saloon men were on the city council, not one ever served on a school board in our town."

What is true in Colorado City is true, with hardly an exception, throughout the State. It is alleged that the voting woman forgets the welfare of her children. Statistics are not thrilling, but they are convincing. Nothing tells the location of our hearts more surely than the figures of the

tax list. According to age and long establishment, the thirteen original Colonies should lead the United States in the educational procession. Let us consider the per-capita expenditure of the total population for the education of their young folks in these States:

Massachusetts, $4.96; New Hampshire, $2.79; Rhode Island, $3.79; Connecticut, $3.72; New York, $5.00; New Jersey, $3.51; Maryland, $2.12; Pennsylvania, $3.52; Virginia, $1.07; Delaware, $2.46; North Carolina, 66 cents; South Carolina, 71 cents; Georgia, 97 cents.

Over against these let us set the $5.08 spent by Colorado, the highest amount spent for educational purposes by any State in the Union. These figures are from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, for 1901-02.

But it may be urged that school suffrage is sufficient, and that full suffrage has not assisted the Colorado woman in extending the scope of her educational work. No one who is acquainted with the facts will say this. With the school franchise only, women found it up-hill work to inaugurate reforms along educational lines. They formed associations and founded "free kindergartens", kept up by philanthropic people, fairs, bazars and the various means used by women everywhere. In the spring of 1893, the year when the vote was to be taken on the suffrage question in November, for the first time, the annual school election held in May became a burning question

throughout the State. Thousands of votes were polled where there had been tens and fifties. The women proved past a peradventure that they would vote. In Denver, they, for the first time, elected a woman (Mrs. Ione T. Hanna) to the school board. The issue was to make the kindergarten a part of the public school system. The powers that were, bowed to the inevitable. Today the kindergarten is firmly established in many districts throughout the State, and more are being started as rapidly as finances permit. The next progressive step was the erection of a Manual Training High School in Denver, and manual training departments have been added to a number of schools throughout the State.

Instead of thinking less of their homes, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of Domestic Economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School, and the Professor of Domestic Economy in the former has been twice president of the Colorado Suffrage Association. The interest in the old-fashioned womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing. There is hardly a State where the school population is increasing so rapidly. It has gained 25 per cent. in five years. Colorado's compulsory education laws are said to be the best in existence anywhere. There is no difference made in teachers' salaries on account of sex.

After twenty years' experience in school work, I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political, and party affiliation is never considered in the appointment of teachers. Whilst our teachers are citizens, taking part in public affairs, voting and often attending primaries and conventions, I have never heard of a teacher being dismissed or appointed because she was a Republican or a Democrat, nor of a member of a school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally, both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board principally Democratic is found in Republican communities, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo, or Philadelphia than in the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil.—From address made by Mrs. Grenfell at the National Suffrage Convention, February, 1904.

Subscribe for

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

More Testimony from Colorado

Prof. Harry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, has addressed an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale of Iowa, giving his observations on equal suffrage. Prof. Kelly says in part:

Since I came to Colorado, you have frequently requested me to state my opinion of woman suffrage. I came here with very little interest in the subject, and perhaps with very little respect for it. Having resided in Colorado nearly seven years, and having observed the political and social conditions here, I have rather unconsciously arrived at an opinion.

The great value in woman suffrage consists in this, that it gives dynamic force to a fresh and vital interest in the state. Women are not much concerned with mere partisan politics; and experience in the states where woman suffrage is in force clearly shows that their interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. But they are interested in the questions which we may call more distinctly social. Their interests center around

questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries —and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. I do not say that men are not interested in such subjects, for that would be untrue; but I do say that such an interest is fundamental in the intellectual activity of women. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for offices, but women will not see them obscured by anything.

One of the arguments against woman suffrage was that it would create discord in the family. Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage. The members of a family are inclined to stand together upon political questions, much as they are upon religious questions; but this fact broadens the family interest in public affairs, because women, disregarding the mere scramble for office, direct the family interest along the line of social questions, in addition to the interest in partisan politics. So I would say that while woman suffrage increases the number of votes, it gives us an increased breadth of public interest in social welfare. Neither has woman suffrage ren-

dered politics attractive to women as a vocation, nor has it had any other effect on their character than to multiply their social interests, and widen their intellectual horizon. Their right to vote has not made them less dutiful as mothers and wives. If any woman in Colorado is bold and brazen, she is not so on account of woman suffrage. In fact, women of that character may be found even in Iowa. And effeminate men are scattered around over the globe, irrespective of the extent or character of the suffrage.

It is contended that women do not wish to vote. The women in Colorado are not office-seekers, but they vote solidly when there is anything in a campaign that appeals to their interest; and in all elections their vote is large. Among them, of course, there are some bad women. But I apprehend that nobody has any scheme by which the suffrage can be so restricted as to exclude persons who are evil-minded. There is not a city in the world where the vote of evil women could be of enough consequence to be worthy of serious consideration in a controversy like this.

Do not mislead yourself into thinking that you dislike woman suffrage because you would not like to see your wife going

to the polls, as you say, "amid surroundings so disgusting to a refined woman." That is moonshine; for under woman suffrage, as we have seen in Colorado the voting booths are placed in most respectable quarters, largely in private houses, with surroundings that offer no opportunity for criticism.

Within the limits of a letter it is impossible to do more than express an opinion. It would be instructive to enumerate and examine at length the things accomplished in this state through woman suffrage, but that is impracticable here. Suffice it to say that, measured even by its deeds, woman suffrage has proved its right to exist as the permanent policy of Colorado.

The **National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York,** will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, **published at 25c. a year,** at Headquarters. We need your name. You need our news.

Subscriptions taken for the "Woman's Journal," published weekly at $1.50 a year, and for **"Jus Suffragii,"** the international suffrage monthly, $1.00 a year.

General Hale On Colorado Women's Votes

Gen. Irving Hale, of Denver, while visiting Boston, gave the editor of the Woman's Journal an authorized interview on equal suffrage in Colorado, and it has been printed with his sanction. The questions and answers are as follows:

"Do you find that the ignorant and unintelligent women vote more generally than the educated and intelligent?"

"The largest majorities for woman suffrage were given in the most intelligent cities, and in the best precincts of each city, while the heavy majorities against it were in the precincts controlled by the debased and lawless classes, and the lowest grade of machine politicians, who rely on herding the depraved vote—showing that these elements dreaded the effect of woman suffrage, and realized the falsity of the argument that it would increase the immoral and controllable vote.

"The result has demonstrated that their fear was well founded, and that this argument is diametrically opposed to actual results.

"So far as I have been able to judge by

observation of elections and analysis of returns, more women vote in the better districts than in the slums, and the proportion of refined and intelligent voters to the ignorant and depraved is larger among women than among men."

"Do you find that equal suffrage leads women to neglect their homes?"

"No. There is less danger of women neglecting their domestic duties on account of suffrage than for society, literary clubs or ping-pong."

"Do differences of political opinion lead to family quarrels and divorces?"

"I have heard of none. Any man who would quarrel with his wife for holding a different political opinion should be disfranchised, as he is incapable of appreciating the fundamental principles of our government."

"Does it impair woman's refinement to vote?"

"Not if the right is exercised in a womanly manner, as it is by the great majority."

"Are women treated with less respect socially, and has equal suffrage made men less chivalrous?"

"No. Greater courtesy is shown a woman in Western than in Eastern cities; and while this condition existed before the extension of suffrage, and therefore cannot be attributed to it, it has certainly shown no diminution."

"Does women's lack of business experience lead them to vote foolishly on practical municipal questions?"

"I have not observed any such result. In business questions with which they are not especially familiar, most women will naturally be guided to a considerable extent by the opinions of their male relatives; but, on the other hand, the right and duty of suffrage will cause them to investigate these subjects for themselves, and thus broaden their horizon."

"Are the laws less well enforced since women became voters, owing to the fact that women cannot fight? How is this particular objection regarded in Colorado by men in general?"

"As too ridiculous for serious comment. If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea-bathing resort in December."

"Do their political duties take so much of women's time as to be felt as a severe burden?"

"No more than with men. Each voter, whether man or woman, must regulate the time given to political thought and work according to his or her own inclination and opportunity."

"Has the women's influence on the whole been for or against political corruption?"

"Against—but there is still room for improvement."

"Do the women make as good wives and mothers as before?"

"I can see no difference."

"Has equal suffrage had any bad results?"

"I know of none."

"Has it had any good results?"

"The general effect has been decidedly beneficial. There has been no revolution. Women average about the same as men on most questions—a little better on those involving morals. The extension of suffrage to women has exerted a good influence along the lines of making elections more orderly, leading women to take a more intelligent interest in public questions and thus broadening their minds; making it harder to secure the nomination and election of notoriously bad candidates; and making it easier to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian objects. Especially does it act as a governor on the political machines of all parties to regulate the character of nominees and platforms.

"With us, women exert a great influence on public affairs. They do this everywhere; but in our State they do it openly and legally, and it has done a great deal of good."

Gen. Hale's father, ex-President Hale, of the University of Denver, has expressed himself to the same effect.

Sample Set Political Equality Leaflets, 10c. Per 100, 15c.

Subscribe for PROGRESS, Suffrage paper, published 505 Fifth Ave., N. Y., National Suffrage Headquarters. 25 cts. a year.

Testimony From Wyoming

A. C. Thomas, of Jefferson, Ore., has received the following letter from the Attorney General of Wyoming:

Friend Thomas:—I have your letter of the 5th inst., in which you ask me whether equal suffrage has been a success in Wyoming.

I must confess that when I first settled in Wyoming I was greatly prejudiced against it. I regarded it as a sort of woman's right "fad" and a nuisance. I reasoned that the average woman knew very little about politics and cared less, and that those women who would vote at all, would vote as the husband, father, brother, or other male member of the family voted, and that, while there would be more votes to count, the result would be about the same. I have observed the practical results of the system here, and have changed my mind. I am now convinced that woman suffrage is a rational principle and a benefit to the state, for the following reasons:

1. It stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the state and the home are promoted.

2. As the mother, sister, or teacher of young boys, the influence of woman over the minds of the youth of the land, in the creation of wholesome ideals of citizenship, is very great, so that the more she knows about the obligations of citizenship, the more she is able to teach the boys; and early impressions remain with a man through life.

3. The vote of a woman is usually cast against a candidate for office who is known to be either incompetent, immoral or otherwise unfit for the place, and as a result the tendency is to nominate better men for office.

4. Political reforms are nearly always brought about by individuals and seldom by party organizations. The women usually vote for progressive candidates, and for the correction of abuses in politics, irrespective of party affiliations.

5. It operates as a check against the modern tendency of government by party, and in support of our traditional policy of government by the people.

6. It preserves better order at polling places during elections. In fact, disorder of any kind is an unheard-of thing during elections in this state.

And, finally, we permit men of foreign birth to become citizens and exercise the right of suffrage after five years' residence. Why should not a young American woman, who has received a

course of instruction in our schools in civil government, political economy and constitutional history, and has lived in the United States 21 years, have the same chance to exercise the rights of citizenship? There is nothing dangerous about the experiment. It has improved, and is yet improving conditions in Wyoming.

These are some of the reasons in favor of it. Now what are the reasons that may be urged against it? I know of none.

Yours truly,

W. E. MULLEN.

Cheyenne, Wyo.

Hon. W. S. Collins, president of the Big Horn County Irrigation Company, says:

"I have lived in Wyoming 21 years, and during all that period women have voted at all elections. I have often found new-comers adverse to women's voting. This soon wears off, and in a year or two husband and wife, brother and sister, father and mother and daughter and son go to the polls together the same as to any other meeting. There is nothing thought of it, no remarks made about it.

"Women are no more corrupted by voting with their fathers, brothers and husbands than they are by going with them to any other kind of meeting. Women's influence for good is felt there, as it is in the home and around the fireside. The polls are arranged with full knowledge that women will go there to vote. Should any man attempt to locate a polling place where a

woman should not go, that man would have short shrift.

"There is very little bribery here. The man who electioneers with whiskey is sure to be beaten, and it is not often attempted. Women almost invariably split their tickets. They vote for the men they deem the best, and it follows that all parties endeavor to put up their best men. Women everywhere are always in favor of law and order. It is owing to the women's vote that our young state, where the cow-boy still flourishes, has stringent laws against gambling.

"Women here read of State affairs, notice what their Congressmen are doing at Washington, and go to political meetings. Does it unsex them? No. It is good to see intelligence flash from their eyes.

"Bad women do vote, but they do not take much interest. They trouble good women no more at the polls than they do at the bargain-counter or the theater.

"Women appear no more out of place at the polls than they do at a festival or fair. Citizens of Wyoming are proud that the constitution of our state was the first for equal political rights."

ALL interested in the cause of equal rights are URGED TO CONTRIBUTE towards carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Equal Suffrage in Australia

Lady Holder, the wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia, contributed the following article to the N. Y. Independent of June 9, 1904. Lady Holder has taken a leading part in philanthropic work in South Australia. She says:

"The women of South Australia were placed in a position of political equality with men several years ago. Accordingly, everybody has become accustomed to the arrangement, and it seems perfectly natural. It has not produced any marked effect on female character, or made any particular difference to domestic life. Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge. We are well supplied with high-class newspapers, the same sources of information are open to women as to men, and the questions that arise are not by any means beyond the scope of their intelligence. At election meetings there is commonly a good sprinkling of women voters in the audiences. It is said that their presence tends to prevent disorderliness, and I have never heard of a lady at any meeting being rudely treated.

"Voting, with us, is one of the simplest things

in the world. When an elector's mind is made up, there is less difficulty in expressing it through the ballot-box than in matching a ribbon, and the one act is not considered more unfeminine than the other. Our freedom has not developed a class of political women, we have no 'shrieking sisterhood,' but we know and use our power. We can do a great deal toward securing members of good character in the Parliament and influencing their votes, and are generally content with the results of our enfranchisement.

"I have described the conditions in my own state thus fully because, though it is one of the smaller states in the Australian Commonwealth, in this matter it is further advanced than most of the others. When the federation came, adult suffrage was the law only in South Australia and Western Australia; it has since been adopted in New South Wales and Tasmania, but it has not yet been granted, so far as the state legislatures are concerned, in the other two. The Federal Parliament, however, had to make its own electoral laws, and to establish uniformity was obliged to adopt the broadest existing basis, because the constitution forbade the outrage and anomaly of disfranchising persons by whom some of its members had been elected. Accordingly, the women of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania were somewhat suddenly placed in the same position of political equality, so far as the commonwealth is concerned, as their South Australian and West Australian sisters. They were legally qualified to act in the federal elections of last De-

cember, and as they had not been allowed a similar privilege at elections for their legislatures, of course the event produced considerable sensation and wore an air of strangeness and novelty. The newspapers gave special attention to the new voters, and teemed with exhortations as to the way they should go, and it was amusing to observe how some candidates who had fought against woman's suffrage with all their might tried to show their supreme regard and esteem for the voters whose rights they had previously refused. By the time polling day arrived, the average woman was probably as well prepared to discharge her electoral duty as the average man.

"Three women offered themselves as candidates, Mrs. Martell and Mrs Moore, in New South Wales, and Miss Vida Goldstein in Victoria. The candidature of the two former was not unanimously approved by the Women's Association of their own state, and their defeat was a foregone conclusion; but Miss Goldstein was indorsed by the Victorian organization to which she belonged, and, though unsuccessful, the fact that she received 51,497 votes proved that she had many sympathizers. She did not ally herself with either of the great political parties. Her object was avowedly to show that home interests ought to be represented in Parliament and by women, as well as manufacturing, mining, farming, and other interests, by persons who were engaged in them. Next to the votes she received, the most significant thing was the considerate and respectful treatment she met throughout. It showed that the political woman

who respects herself may trust for protection to the chivalry of men.

Australian experience has conclusively disposed of the objection that women have no aptitude for politics or interest in public affairs. They have proved that they possess both, and while they have no general ambition or desire for parliamentary honors, and display no sex antagonism, they regard their right to vote for representatives as a responsible trust. It is rendered equally clear that they can and do exercise a salutary influence on the political life of the country without sustaining in the slightest degree any of the injuries or disabilities that have been supposed to follow. They are as good wives, mothers and sisters as ever, and better companions for their men folk because of their widened interest and the truer equality in which they stand.

The National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, published at 25c. a year, at Headquarters. We need your name. You need our news.

Subscriptions also taken for "Jus Suffragii," the International Suffrage monthly, $1.00 a year, and for the "Woman's Journal," published weekly at $1.50 a year at 6 Beacon Street, Boston, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

All interested in the cause of equal rights are urged to contribute towards carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

Women's Vote In Australia

Prof. R. E. Macnaghten of McGill University, Montreal, who lived for some years in Australasia, contributes to the Canadian Magazine for June, 1907, "A Plea for Woman Suffrage in Canada." He says in part:

"That the extension of the franchise to women has been a real succcess in Australia can hardly be disputed by any unprejudiced person; and sufficient time has passed since its introduction to enable us to take a broad and dispassionate view. Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia, to whichever of the great popular parties they might belong, would, I believe, agree that the concession of the vote to women had been a real benefit to the state.

"It is sometimes said that women do not want the vote. What has happened in Australia since the granting of female franchise is a striking disproof of that assertion. Before it was granted, there was no very manifest or outspoken indication of such a desire. But that women since have shown the full-

est and most intelligent appreciation of their privileges, will hardly be denied by anyone conversant with the actual facts. In the towns women vote, if anything, in greater proportional numbers than men. In the country, owing to the long distances to be traversed, the case is somewhat different though even here, so far as the villages are concerned, the women are exhibiting remarkable political acumen. And not only are women, by going in great numbers to the polls, showing that they fully appreciate the privilege, but they are also introducing new and more scientific methods into political and electoral organization."

The professor mentions that, whereas it had been the custom for each candidate to address meetings of his own party only, the women's organizations have brought in the innovation of getting the candidates of all the parties to come and address them, so that they may weigh and compare their views. Prof. Macnaghten continues:

"This indeed appears to me a distinctive and salutary characteristic of the women's vote, that it above all things endeavors to ascertain and act on the merits of the case. And this point has attracted the attention of a recent writer in New South Wales, whose words I may quote: 'The lines in which the women's influence is to be especially felt are

gradually becoming clear. They have very largely declared themselves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a great national character.'

"However incapable we may be of specifying the exact causes, most men will admit that the presence of a woman in the house makes all the difference between comfort and misery, and that the 'sweetness and light' of family life contrast in the most striking manner with the squalor of a bachelor's den. And the same subtle and almost indescribable element which pervades domestic life through the presence of woman, does also assuredly make its influence felt when women take part in the political life of a nation,"

Prof. Macnaghten says that one great advantage of equal suffrage is the introduction of a class with leisure. "Of all busy men, the wealthy man of affairs is the busiest. But his wife and daughters have leisure in superabundance. By such women as these, and by the wives and daughters of thousands of business and professional men, the time necessary for the proper study of political and social questions can be easily given; and the opportunity of useful work often proves extremely acceptable. If men be more fitted for the adjustment of purely political questions (and this after all remains to be proved), it is hardly questionable that

women are peculiarly fitted to deal with all those social-political problems with which some question of domestic economy is in any way concerned, such as poor-law economy, hospital organization, the housing of the working classes, and all those educational matters in which the problems of the household are reproduced on a larger scale.

"Moreover, for the consideration of all such problems women have one great advantage, in that they do not by predisposition attach the same importance to precedent and form. Even the ablest men are inclined to bow down and worship before the altar of red tape; and this routine tendency in the case of the average male often produces the most deplorable results. A striking concrete illustration of the inherent difference between the sexes in this regard is afforded by the advent of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean war." Prof. Macnaghten tells how the wounded were perishing for stores which could not be issued without an official order, and how Florence Nightingale had the doors broken open and the stores distributed.

Prof. Macnaghten enumerates other benefits that have followed from equal suffrage in Australia, and in conclusion, that the strongest argument for it is the greatly increased power that it gives to "the family vote" over that of a comparatively irresponsible and floating population.

POLITICAL EQUALITY SERIES.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue New York.

FAMILY SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND.

Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, an ex-member of the New Zealand Parliament, traveling in America for his health, spoke as follows in an address at the May festival of the New England Woman Suffrage Association:

"Up to 1877, we had no idea of giving woman suffrage in New Zealand.

"It was done, not by argument, but by experiment. I had a little to do with the first experiment, which was the extension of suffrage to a small class of women.

"By the Education Act of 1877, the householders of each district were empowered to elect a committee of seven of their number to have charge of the schools of the district. I had much to do with this Act. While the bill was in committee, another member suggested to me that it would be a good thing to leave out the word 'male' before 'householder.'

"I saw no objection and moved it. This was the first thin end of the big wedge by which full suffrage has been given to all the women in New Zealand.

"The women got the school vote, and used it. They did not say, 'Oh dear, no, it wouldn't be proper!' They went to the polls and voted

for the best men. They took so much interest that at the next election some women were elected to the school boards, and they showed so much apitude for this sort of work that when, in 1882, the license question came up, it was proposed that women ratepayers, as well as men ratepayers, should help choose the board of commissioners in each district who control the issuing of licenses.

"This met with great objection. We were told that now indeed we should utterly destroy the character of the ladies, for all the worst elements would be brought in contact with them, and would make things very unpleasant for them. We said, 'We don't believe the men of New Zealand are as bad as you think, and, if they are, they are not to be trusted to vote alone for these boards of license commissioners.' The women were given the license to vote. To the surprise and disappointment of their opponents, they voted well, and met with no trouble, and certainly they greatly improved the licensing boards.

"Then we felt that we could go a little further, and gave the women the right to vote at municipal elections and to serve on municipal boards. I know one woman who acted for two years as mayor (not mayoress) of a very prosperous little town, and did as well as any mayor could have done.

"I have always said what I thought, and in some cases have said it till I was in danger of being pelted off the platform. This is one minor reason why I believe in woman suffrage. No one is pelted now.

"Women attend all the political meetings, and it has done an immense deal of good. When men congregate by themselves, they get excited and sometimes misbehave. Women, perhaps, do the same. It is not good for women, either, to be alone.

"It seemed queer at first to find half the benches at a political meeting occupied by ladies; but when the men have got accustomed to it, they do not like the other thing.

"When they found that they could take their wives and daughters to these meetings, and afterwards take them home and talk about it, it was the beginning of a new life for the family, a life of ideas and interests in common, and a unison of thought.

"The influence of equal suffrage has been rather against the milliners and dressmakers; there is not so much time for criticizing one's neighbors' bonnets and cloaks. Gossip cannot be cured in any way so well as by taking an interest in public affairs.

"The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie, the greatest strengthener of family life. Under equal suffrage, the family is taking the place of the individual. People are coming to vote as families. The persons whom they approve when they talk them over in the family are those whom they vote for when they go to the polls.

"The members of a family generally vote alike, though it is impossible to swear to this, as the ballot is absolutely secret. But we see in it the changed character of the

men who are elected. The men who are successful now are not just the same sort that were successful before. Character is more regarded than cleverness. It is asked about every candidate, 'Has he a good record? Is he above suspicion, an honorable man, a useful citizen, pure of any suspicion of complicity with corrupt politics?' That is the man who, under the combined suffrage of men and women, gets the largest number of votes and is elected. This is the greatest benefit that comes from suffrage.

"I do not deify suffrage. There might be a state of things in which universal suffrage would become the worst of tyrannies; but with both men and women voting, there is little danger of this. I see in New York the grievous results of half-universal suffrage; but I believe these would be swept away by the other half."—Reprinted from the Woman's Journal of Aug. 17, 1907.

Subscribe For

PROGRESS

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Published monthly at National Headquarters,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

New Zealand's Experience

"In my opinion the results of enfranchising the women of New Zealand have been wholly beneficial."

The Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph George Ward, K. C. M. G., Premier of New Zealand, spoke deliberately and with conviction. I had sought him out at the Hotel Cecil, and, despite his multifarious engagements, he was kind enough to spare time to touch on the burning question of woman suffrage.

Sir Joseph has keen brown eyes, a strong, kindly face, and a certain air of strength and resolution behind his diplomatic exterior. He laughed cheerfully when I asked him how it was the women of New Zealand have secured that for which we are striving so earnestly.

"New Zealand," he said, "has solved many problems which are vexing the spirits of the wise people here. You see, women with us had for years taken an active interest in local affairs; indeed, the very atmosphere of the country seems to encourage co-operation between the sexes, and it was an easy step to complete enfranchisement.

"It was nearly 14 years ago—in September, 1893—that the Houses of Parliament of New Zealand passed the bill conferring the franchise on women."

"They tell us here," I said, "that politics is outside the sphere of women. Will you not let us know whether the women of New Zealand have proved themselves incapable of appreciating political issues?"

"By no means. The state is but a larger home, and the problems in managing its affairs are much the same as those encountered in the household. They differ rather in degree than in nature, and our women have shown themselves keenly alive to political issues, and have exhibited common sense at least equal to that of men."

"Has the possession of the vote produced any antagonism between the sexes?"

"I have certainly observed none," said Sir Joseph, smiling. "Indeed, there are some who tell us that it is useful to provide, in this way, intelligent topics for men and women to talk about apart from their own private affairs. It enlarges their mental horizon, and inculcates tolerance. The statement that the power to vote renders a woman less attractive or less companionable is utter nonsense. Human nature is not so easily affected. A good point which has especially struck me in the behavior of wo-

men in their relation to politics is the absence of wrangling and bitterness. Altogether we take our politics more good-naturedly in New Zealand, possibly owing to there not being so many apparent divergent interests. This is indirectly but not remotely due to political rights being the common property of the whole community, without invidious distinctions of class or sex."

"And has New Zealand become accustomed to the idea of woman suffrage?"

"A proposal to establish a sex line in politics would now be laughed at, and to the majority of the people of New Zealand the disenfranchisement of one-half of the population because they are women, would appear as ridiculous as arbitrarily to withhold votes from a section of the men,—say those with red hair.

"Yes, most decidedly the women care for the vote and use it. You will find particulars here which are conclusive on this point."

And Sir Joseph handed me the New Zealand Official Year Book.

"You will see that in 1893, when women were enfranchised, 83 per cent. of those entitled to vote went to the polls, whereas less than 70 per cent. of the men voted. It appears, however, that this awoke the men to a sense of their duty, and the percentage of male voters has consistently risen, until at the last election, in 1905, approximately the same percentage of male and female voters went to the polls."

"Do women push any pet reforms?"

"I cannot say," replied Sir Joseph, "that they have shown great activity in initiating special legislation. Indeed, they appear rather to constitute themselves an examining board, and their influence is undoubtedly felt in all legislation. It is a sane, healthy influence, which makes for purity in politics, and, while mainly democratic in spirit and devoted to the protection of public interests rather than private privilege, it is a balancing force."

"Then you do not find evidence of hysteria in politics?"

"No, our women are not unduly swayed by emotion in politics. In fact, they show considerable political acumen."

"Tell your friends," Sir Joseph said, when at parting I pressed for a message to the suffragists of England, "tell your friends to keep up their courage. Political enfranchisement came to the women of New Zealand with dramatic suddenness, and in fact they secured it by a majority of only two votes."

"And now?"

"Now, if the question were voted upon, it is doubtful whether in the whole House there would be two to oppose it."—B. Borrmann Wells in *Woman's Journal.*

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

Woman Suffrage In New Zealand

Charles Edward Russell, in Everybody's Magazine (December, 1906) writing of New Zealand under the title of "Soldiers of the Common Good," says:

"As to woman suffrage, I asked many about it, and men and women seemed to agree that it is a good thing. The men said the women have notably improved political life; it is the cleaner and purer because of them. Women go to political meetings and rowdyism flees before them; candidates are very careful what they say and how they say it when they know women voters are listening to them. Public officers are more careful about their records because it has been found that women will not overlook things that men pardon. As to public policies, the women have steadily supported reform and the new ideas; they have not cared whether a thing was sanctioned by the ages so long as it was right and good. This is what the men told me. The women said they had not found it any more dreadful to go to a polling place and vote than to go to

a store and buy bread; they had never seen nor heard anything shocking at a polling place, but invariably they had been treated there with the greatest respect. The men said that most of them did not know how their wives voted. As for letting the soup burn and the children go hungry and woman's sphere and all that sort of thing, the New Zealanders despise any such suggestions about their voting helpmates. They say a woman can vote and understand perfectly what she is voting about and be just as good a wife and mother as if she never had an idea in her life above pudding. I don't know; I know I have seen a great many New Zealand households and they seemed exactly as well ordered, as bright, cheerful and happy as any other households anywhere on this celestial globe.

"As for the allegation that with woman suffrage only the ignorant and unworthy would vote, that cannot possibly be true in New Zealand, because practically all the women vote, and it would not be safe to insinuate to any New Zealander that his womankind are not just as intelligent, well-educated and fine-spirited as any women in all the world."

Hon. W. P. Reeves, agent-general for New Zealand, in an address given in London on "The Effect of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand and Australia," said in part:

"Women's parliamentary suffrage tried, and tried successfully, is worthy of your attention, even at the antipodes. It not only proves a good deal, but it disproves a good deal more.

"I do not think there is a single argument urged against woman suffrage here that was not urged almost as monotonously and drearily against it at the other end of the world. Awful pictures were drawn of neglected babies, uncooked dinners, deserted domestic hearths. We were told that women did not want the franchise, and yet it was said that no sooner did they get it than they would become so enthralled, so enthusiastic that they would neglect all the duties of domestic life.

"In social life things are very much as they were. In fact, the complaint of the old prophets of evil now is, not that the skies have fallen or the country is upside down, but that there is so little change. Well, if woman suffrage had only proved that so great and important a constitutional change could come into being so smoothly and easily that the only complaint of its opponents was that it had not revolutionized the country, it would have proved a great deal. If it had only proved that when women get the franchise they use it, and that because they take an interest in the state they do not cease to take an interest in their homes and families, it would have proved something. But it has proved more than that.

"It has distinctly affected legislation. Laws have been passed because of it; other laws have been modified. Changes have been made in the administration of the public service; changes are being made in public opinion outside the public service. Altogether people are beginning to look at customs and institutions with different eyes. Personal results are taking place. I do not think any politician or public worker would try now in his daily life to outrage the finer feelings of women.

"It is true that, for the most part, women do vote not against their husbands and families, but

with them; that they usually do stand with their class, and to their class interests. No one, except an anarchist, could have expected anything else. But it does not follow that they do not exercise a distinct influence in politics. They do; and they bid fair to influence politics still more.

"In addition to that, it is not merely the influence of women upon public life that we have to look to, it is the influence of public life and fuller responsibilities upon women. No one can deny that already the possession of the rights of citizenship has begun to influence women's life and thought and brain in New Zealand, and that that influence is altogether for good.

"On the whole, the part women are taking is quiet, but it is none the less real. They do use the franchise; they do discuss; they do join associations; they do read and listen, and reflect; and they do learn. And this widens their lives, brightens their intellects, makes their lives fuller and more useful to the country, and none the less charming in the domestic circle."

NOTE: New South Wales gave municipal suffrage to women in 1867, and full state suffrage in 1902; Victoria gave municipal suffrage in 1869, and full state suffrage in 1908; West Australia gave municipal suffrage in 1871 and full state suffrage in 1900; South Australia gave municipal suffrage in 1880 and full state suffrage in 1895; Tasmania gave municipal suffrage in 1884 and full state suffrage in 1903; Queensland gave full state suffrage in 1905; New Zealand gave school suffrage in 1877, municipal suffrage in 1886 and full National suffrage in 1893. In 1902 full national suffrage was granted to all the women of Federated Australia.

Political Equality leaflets, sample set 10 cents; 15 cents a hundred, at National American Woman Suffrage headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, N. Y.

INDEX

MATERIAL FOR DEBATES

Do You Know? by Carrie Chapman Catt.
Why Women Should Vote, by Alice Stone Blackwell.
Objections Answered, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

ENDORSEMENTS

Eminent Opinions.
Woman Suffrage Endorsed, by E. J. Hauser.

HISTORY

Progress of Woman Suffrage.
Reply to Mrs. Humphrey Ward, by Julia Ward Howe.
Julia Ward Howe on Suffrage.

GENERAL ARGUMENTS

Woman's Ballot, by President Thomas of Bryn Mawr College.
Woman's Ballot, by President Woolley of Mt. Holyoke College.
Alice Freeman Palmer on Women's Duties.
The Direct Way, by Prof. Frances Squire Potter.
Persuasion or Responsibility, by Florence Kelley.
Suffrage in Relation to Working Women and Children, by Florence Kelley.
The Wage-Earner and the Ballot, by Maud Nathan.
Captivated Calves, by Lida Calvert Obenchain.
The "Unanswerable Argument," by Lida Calvert Obenchain.
The Bible for Woman Suffrage, by Bishop J. W. Bashford.
The Bible on Women Voting, by Catherine Waugh McCullogh.

Mrs. Livermore on Suffrage.
The Ballot and the Telephone, by Anne Fitzhugh Miller.
Two Workings of a Bad Law, by Lora S. LaMance.
Women in the Home, by Susan W. Fitzgerald.
What Is Democracy? by Susan W. Fitzgerald.
Women and the Vote, by Mary K. O'Sullivan.
Woman in the State, by U. S. Senator George F. Hoar.
Hon. Frederick C. Howe on Suffrage.
Woman's Ballot, by Dorothy Dix.
Mr. and Mrs. Sapsea, by Israel Zangwill.
Modern City and Municipal Franchise, by Jane Addams.
Some Reasons Why, by Anna C. Etz.
Do Teachers Need the Ballot? by Alice Stone Blackwell.
The Division of Labor, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE

Fruits of Equal Suffrage, I. and II.
Judge Lindsey on Suffrage.
Mrs. Decker on Suffrage.
The Ballot and the Schools, by Helen L. Grenfell.
More Testimony from Colorado, by Prof. Harry E. Kelly.
Colorado Women's Votes, by Gen. Hale.
Testimony from Wyoming.
Equal Suffrage in Australia, by Lady Holder.
Women's Vote in Australia, by Prof. R. E. Macnaghten.
Family Suffrage in New Zealand, by Hon. Hugh H. Lusk.
New Zealand's Experience, by Sir Joseph George Ward.
Suffrage in New Zealand, by Charles Edward Russell.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

1911

A collection of eight popular booklets covering together practically the entire field of suffrage claims and evidence. Designed especially for the convenience of suffrage speakers and writers and for the use of debaters and libraries.

National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

Why Women Should Vote

By

JANE ADDAMS

For many generations it has been believed that woman's place is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended or to forecast any social change which shall release her from that paramount obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women to-day are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do,

she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement-house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests of

public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

Chicago one spring had a spreading contagion of scarlet fever just at the time that the school nurses had been discontinued because business men had pronounced them too expensive. If the women who sent their children to the schools had been sufficiently public-spirited and had been provided with an implement through which to express that public spirit they would have insisted that the schools be supplied with nurses in order that their own children might be protected from contagion. In other words, if women would effectively continue their old avocations they must take part in the slow upbuilding of that code of legislation which is alone sufficient to protect the home from the dangers incident to modern life. One might instance the many deaths of children from contagious diseases the germs of which had been carried in tailored clothing. Country doctors testify as to the outbreak of scarlet fever in remote neighborhoods each autumn, after the children have begun to wear the

winter overcoats and cloaks which have been sent from infected city sweatshops. That their mothers mend their stockings and guard them from "taking cold" is not a sufficient protection when the tailoring of the family is done in a distant city under conditions which the mother cannot possibly control. The sanitary regulation of sweatshops by city officials is all that can be depended upon to prevent such needless destruction. Who shall say that women are not concerned in the enactment and enforcement of such legislation if they would preserve their homes?

Even women who take no part in public affairs in order that they may give themselves entirely to their own families, sometimes going so far as to despise those other women who are endeavoring to secure protective legislation, may illustrate this point. The Hull-House neighborhood was at one time suffering from a typhoid epidemic. A careful investigation was made by which we were able to establish a very close connection between the typhoid and a mode of plumbing which made it most probable that the infection had been carried by flies. Among the people who had been exposed to the infection was a widow who had lived in the ward for a number of years, in a comfortable little house which she owned. Although the Italian immigrants were

closing in all around her she was not willing to sell her property and to move away until she had finished the education of her children. In the mean time she held herself quite aloof from her Italian neighbors and could never be drawn into any of the public efforts to protect them by securing a better code of tenement-house sanitation. Her two daughters were sent to an Eastern college; one June, when one of them had graduated and the other still had two years before she took her degree, they came to the spotless little house and to their self-sacrificing mother for the summer's holiday. They both fell ill, not because their own home was not clean, not because their mother was not devoted, but because next door to them and also in the rear were wretched tenements, and because the mother's utmost efforts could not keep the infection out of her own house. One daughter died and one recovered but was an invalid for two years following. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the futility of the individual conscience when woman insists upon isolating her family from the rest of the community and its interests. The result is sure to be a pitiful failure.

One of the interesting experiences in the Chicago campaign for inducing the members of the Charter Convention to

recommend municipal franchise for women in the provisions of the new charter was the unexpected enthusiasm and help which came from large groups of foreign-born women. The Scandinavian women represented in many Lutheran Church societies said quite simply that in the old country they had had the municipal franchise upon the same basis as men since the seventeenth century; all the women living under the British Government, in England, Australia or Canada, pointed out that Chicago women were asking now for what the British women had long had. But the most unexpected response came from the foreign colonies in which women had never heard such problems discussed and took the prospect of the municipal ballot as a simple device —which it is—to aid them in their daily struggle with adverse city conditions. The Italian women said that the men engaged in railroad construction were away all summer and did not know anything about their household difficulties. Some of them came to Hull-House one day to talk over the possibility of a public washhouse. They do not like to wash in their own tenements; they had never seen a washing-tub until they came to America, and find it very difficult to use it in the restricted space of their little kitchens and to hang the clothes within the house

to dry. They say that in the Italian villages the women all go to the streams together; in the town they go to the public wash-house; and washing, instead of being lonely and disagreeable, is made pleasant by cheerful conversation. It is asking a great deal of these women to change suddenly all their habits of living, and their contention that the tenement-house kitchen is too small for laundry work is well taken. If women in Chicago knew the needs of the Italian colony they would realize that any change bringing cleanliness and fresh air into the Italian household would be a very sensible and hygienic measure. It is, perhaps, asking a great deal that the members of the City Council should understand this, but surely a comprehension of the needs of these women and efforts toward ameliorating their lot might be regarded as matters of municipal obligation on the part of voting women.

The same thing is true of the Jewish women in their desire for covered markets which have always been a municipal provision in Russia and Poland. The vegetables piled high upon the wagons standing in the open markets of Chicago become covered with dust and soot. It seems to these women a violation of the most rudimentary decencies and they sometimes say quite simply: "If women

had anything to say about it they would change all that."

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities here are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women, and which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the more general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment.

The first of these, of which this article has already treated, is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good schools: (b) that they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and dis-

cussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natural that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers to influence largely actual school curriculi. If they had been kindergartens, domestic science courses and school playgrounds would be far more numerous than they are. More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's. Perhaps, too, only women realize the influence which the school might exert upon the home if a proper adaptation to actual needs were considered. An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes it all the more necessary that her daughter should understand the complications of a cooking-stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew in the public school, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl

who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children, that skillful care which every tenement-house baby requires if he is to be pulled through his second summer. The only time, to my knowledge, that lessons in the care of children were given in the public schools of Chicago was one summer when the vacation schools were being managed by a volunteer body of women. The instruction was eagerly received by the Italian girls, who had been "little mothers" to younger children ever since they could remember.

As a result of this teaching I recall a young girl who carefully explained to her Italian mother that the reason the babies in Italy were so healthy and the babies in Chicago were so sickly was not, as her mother had always firmly insisted, because her babies in Italy had goat's milk and her babies in America had cow's milk, but because the milk in Italy was clean and the milk in Chicago was dirty She said that when you milked your own goat before the door you knew that the milk was clean, but when you bought milk from the grocery store after it had been carried for many miles in the country, "you couldn't tell whether or not it was fit for the baby to drink until the men from the City Hall, who had watched it all the way, said that it was all right."

She also informed her mother that the "City Hall wanted to fix up the milk so that it couldn't make the baby sick, but that they hadn't quite enough votes for it yet." The Italian mother believed what her child had been taught in the big school; it seemed to her quite as natural that the city should be concerned in providing pure milk for her younger children as that it should provide big schools and teachers for her older children. She reached this naïve conclusion because she had never heard those arguments which make it seem reasonable that a woman should be given the school franchise, but no other.

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the overrestrained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. It is obvious that a little study of the needs of children, a sympathetic understanding of the conditions under which they go astray, might save hundreds of them. Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court

movement a dozen years ago. The Juvenile Court Committee, made up largely of women, paid the salaries of the probation officers connected with the court for the first six years of its existence, and after the salaries were cared for by the county the same organization turned itself into a Juvenile Protective League, and through a score of paid officers are doing valiant service in minimizing some of the dangers of city life which boys and girls encounter.

This Protective League, however, was not formed until the women had had a civic training through their semi-official connection with the Juvenile Court. This is, perhaps, an illustration of our inability to see the duty "next to hand" until we have become alert through our knowledge of conditions in connection with the larger duties. We would all agree that social amelioration must come about through the efforts of many people who are moved thereto by the compunction and stirring of the individual conscience, but we are only beginning to understand that the individual conscience will respond to the special challenge largely in proportion as the individual is able to see the social conditions because he has felt responsible for their improvement. Because this body of women assumed a public responsibility they have seen to it that

every series of pictures displayed in the five-cent theater is subjected to a careful censorship before it is produced, and those series suggesting obscenity and criminality have been practically eliminated. The police department has performed this and many other duties to which it was oblivious before simply because these women have made it realize that it is necessary to protect and purify those places of amusement which are crowded with young people every night. This is but the negative side of the policy pursued by the public authorities in the fifteen small parks of Chicago, each of which is provided with halls in which young people may meet nightly for social gatherings and dances. The more extensively the modern city endeavors on the one hand to control and on the other hand to provide recreational facilities for its young people the more necessary it is that women should assist in their direction and extension. After all, a care for wholesome and innocent amusement is what women have for many years assumed. When the reaction comes on the part of taxpayers women's votes may be necessary to keep the city to its beneficent obligations toward its own young people.

(c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four

years old go to the kindergarten, the woman has been left in a household of constantly-narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory Ever since steam power has been applied to the processes of weaving and spinning woman's traditional work has been carried on largely outside of the home. The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there, although it is doubtful, in spite of the large number of factory girls, whether women now are doing as large a proportion of the world's work as they used to do. Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions.

If woman's sense of obligation had en-

larged as the industrial conditions changed she might naturally and almost imperceptibly have inaugurated the movements for social amelioration in the line of factory legislation and shop sanitation. That she has not done so is doubtless due to the fact that her conscience is slow to recognize any obligation outside of her own family circle, and because she was so absorbed in her own household that she failed to see what the conditions outside actually were. It would be interesting to know how far the consciousness that she had no vote and could not change matters operated in this direction. After all, we see only those things to which our attention has been drawn, we feel responsibility for those things which are brought to us as matters of responsibility. If conscientious women were convinced that it was a civic duty to be informed in regard to these grave industrial affairs, and then to express the conclusions which they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot-box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old traditions.

To those of my readers who would admit that although woman has no right to shirk her old obligations, that all of these measures could be secured more easily through her influence upon the men of

her family than through the direct use of the ballot, I should like to tell a little story. I have a friend in Chicago who is the mother of four sons and the grandmother of twelve grandsons who are voters. She is a woman of wealth, of secured social position, of sterling character and clear intelligence, and may, therefore, quite fairly be cited as a "woman of influence." Upon one of her recent birthdays, when she was asked how she had kept so young, she promptly replied: "Because I have always advocated at least one unpopular cause." It may have been in pursuance of this policy that for many years she has been an ardent advocate of free silver, although her manufacturing family are all Republicans! I happened to call at her house on the day that Mr. McKinley was elected President against Mr. Bryan for the first time. I found my friend much disturbed. She said somewhat bitterly that she had at last discovered what the much-vaunted influence of woman was worth; that she had implored each one of her sons and grandsons, had entered into endless arguments and moral appeals to induce one of them to represent her convictions by voting for Bryan! That, although sincerely devoted to her, each one had assured her that his convictions forced him to vote the Republican ticket. She said that all she had

been able to secure was the promise from one of the grandsons, for whom she had an especial tenderness because he bore her husband's name, that he would not vote at all. He could not vote for Bryan, but out of respect for her feeling he would refrain from voting for McKinley. My friend said that for many years she had suspected that women could influence men only in regard to those things in which men were not deeply concerned. but when it came to persuading a man to a woman's view in affairs of politics or business it was absolutely useless. I contended that a woman had no right to persuade a man to vote against his own convictions; that I respected the men of her family for following their own judgment regardless of the appeal which the honored head of the house had made to their chivalric devotion. To this she replied that she would agree with that point of view when a woman had the same opportunity as a man to register her convictions by vote. I believed then as I do now, that nothing is gained when independence of judgment is assailed by "influence," sentimental or otherwise, and that we test advancing civilization somewhat by our power to respect differences and by our tolerance of another's honest conviction.

This is, perhaps, the attitude of many

busy women who would be glad to use the ballot to further public measures in which they are interested and for which they have been working for years. It offends the taste of such a woman to be obliged to use indirect "influence" when she is accustomed to well-bred, open action in other affairs, and she very much resents the time spent in persuading a voter to take her point of view, and possibly to give up his own, quite as honest and valuable as hers, although different because resulting from a totally different experience. Public-spirited women who wish to use the ballot, as I know them, do not wish to do the work of men nor to take over men's affairs. They simply want an opportunity to do their own work and to take care of those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, but which are constantly being overlooked and slighted in our political institutions.

In a complex community like the modern city all points of view need to be represented; the resultants of diverse experiences need to be pooled if the community would make for sane and balanced progress. If it would meet fairly each problem as it arises, whether it be connected with a freight tunnel having to do largely with business men, or with the increasing death rate among children un-

der five years of age, a problem in which women are vitally concerned, or with the question of more adequate street-car transfers, in which both men and women might be said to be equally interested, it must not ignore the judgments of its entire adult population.

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. After all, woman's traditional function has been to make her dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally coöperating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she

would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Why Should Women Vote?

THE reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a choice in choosing the law-makers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax, and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, where everybody's interests are concerned, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we cannot suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our states, these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or crim-

inals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

Are Women Represented?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, a widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

Men and Women Different.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to represent women, through kindness and good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a woman to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his good will, he cannot fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his

mental or moral ability than it would be a reflection upon his musical ability to say that he cannot sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become just alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

Women Not Represented in the Laws.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many states of humane and protective legislation and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories, and in general the imperfect legal safe-guarding of the moral, educational and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our states, the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do to-day.

Is "Influence" Enough?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes, but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women were forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice it would be no answer

to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

Mother and Child.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most states, a married mother has literally no legal rights over her own children, so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen to-day, in 33 out of the 48 states of the Union:

A Chinaman had married a respectable Irishwoman. When their first baby was three days old, the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. But the judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more than half a century, the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal guardianship law has been obtained in only 15 states and the District of Columbia. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by Massachusetts women. In Colorado, after women

were given the right to vote, the very next Legislature passed an equal guardianship law.*

In Massachusetts, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Relief Corps, the State W. C. T. U., the Children's Friend Society and 64 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." It circulated for years, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts, in 1902, the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal; but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other states has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

The Ignorant Vote.

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice or three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling

---

* Laws of 1895, page 186.

than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

The Foreign Vote.

It would double the foreign vote.

According to the census of 1910, there are in the United States 7,522,445 foreign males and only 5,821,138 foreign females—129.2 foreign males to every 100 females of the same class.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion. Experience shows that until they have become Americanized, the foreign women will not vote. And, after they have become Americanized, why should they not vote, as well as anyone else?

The Criminal Vote.

To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman.

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offences, women constitute only five and one-half per cent of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

The Bad Women's Vote.

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America the bad women are so few, compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, ex-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and also for some years president of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, writes:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age,

name or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

Don't Understand Business.

A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a state.

Women have a vote in every other corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but, if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago, a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for twenty years." The answer

was good, as a joke; but, as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide-mud into solid ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candle-stick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose school teachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special knowledge in regard to some important departments of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience, men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need, as voters, is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

Division of Labor.

The growth of civilization is marked by an increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward.

The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as

between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves, and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and in addition making butter, cheese and candles, as our great-grandmothers did. This work is now sub-divided among a number of specialists. On the other hand, in the old times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. To-day, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four.

But this objection about the sub-division of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor in the sense of a trade or a profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

Would Lose Their Influence.

Women would lose their influence.

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has any of these means of influence now would still have them if

she had a vote, and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened and he begged them not to do it. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got all his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight he had before, and a great deal more besides. A woman after enfranchisement would have all the personal influence she has now, and political influence in addition. One thing is certain. Every vicious interest in this country, to which women are hostile, would rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women's vote.

Cease to be Respected.

Women would cease to be respected.

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, writes: "Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow-citizens."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "To-day a young New Zealander in his teens no longer re-

gards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years."

Mrs. A. Watson Lister, secretary of the Woman's National Council of Australia, says:

"One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before, in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes." (Woman's Journal, Feb. 13, 1904.)

Would Make Women Partisans.

Women can do more good now than if they had a vote, because now they are non-partisan. If they became voters, their non-partisan influence would be lost.

Women continue to be non-partisan after they have the ballot, and it gives them more power to

secure the good things which the women of all parties want.

Prof. Henry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, says in an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale, of Iowa, that he went to Colorado opposed to equal suffrage, but has been converted by what he has seen of it. Prof. Kelly adds:

"Experience clearly shows that women's interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. Their interests centre around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries—and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for office, but women will not see them obscured by anything."

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, writes:

"There has never been a party measure espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things, and have worked for them together, in perfect harmony. They wanted a pure-food law, and secured one from the last Legislature, in line with the national legislation. They wanted civil service reform, and have obtained that, so far as the officers of the state institutions are concerned. During the last Legislature, an attempt was made to take the control of the State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection away from the Colorado Humane Society, and to create a political board.

Every federated woman's club in the state besieged its senators and representatives to vote against the bill, and the vice-chairmen of the state central committees of the two chief political parties (both of them women) went together to different members of the Legislature to enter their protest. Men understand that in legislative matters when they oppose the women, they are opposing practically all the women, and the great independent vote of the state."—(Woman's Journal, Aug. 31, 1907.)

Opposition of Women.

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it and the majority ought to rule.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe says:

"The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor. Out of our forty-eight states only nine have anti-suffrage organizations of any kind. There are suffrage associations in 37.

"In New York, at the time of the last constitutional convention, the suffragists secured more than 300,000 signatures to their petitions; the anti-suffragists, only 15,000. The woman suffrage petitions presented to the recent constitutional convention in Michigan bore 175,000 signatures. There were no petitions on the other side. In Chicago, not long ago, 97 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for a woman suffrage

clause in the new city charter, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, Iowa, Kansas, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the women's vote was in favor of suffrage 25 to one.

"Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 1, 1908.)

Already Over-Burdened.

Women are already over-burdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer says.*

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to

---

*Objections to woman suffrage answered by college women.

market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently, and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now.

"The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties."

Women and Office-Holding.

If women vote, they must hold office.

When we say that women would be eligible to hold office, what do we mean? Simply that if a

majority of the people in any place would rather have a woman to hold a certain position than any one else, and if she is willing to serve, they shall be allowed to elect her. Women are serving as officials already; some of the women most prominent in opposing equal suffrage have been holders of public office. The late president of the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" (Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot) was for years a member of the school board of Brookline, and also Overseer of the Poor. Yet that association, in its published documents, objects to equal suffrage on the ground that "suffrage involves the holding of office, and office-holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Suffrage does not involve office-holding by the majority of women, but only by a few; and there are always some women of character and ability who could give the necessary time. Women, as a class, have more leisure than men.

In the enfranchised states there has been no rush of women into office, and the offices that women do hold are mainly educational and charitable. In Wyoming women have had full suffrage for 43 years, yet only one woman has been a member of the Legislature. None of the other suffrage states has ever had more than four women in the Legislature at one time.

Ballots and Bullets.

If women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who were able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight. All men over forty-five are exempt from military service, yet they vote. Col. T. W. Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544.*

"Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

Again, it must be remembered that some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said; "If women do

---

*Medical statistics of the Provost General's Bureau quoted by Col. T. W. Higginson in "Common Sense About Women," page 365.

not fight, they give to the State all its 'soldiers." This ought in all fairness be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms."

Can Laws be Enforced?

Laws could not be enforced unless the majority of legal voters represented the majority of possible fighters.

But thousands of male non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box, and there is no certainty at any election that the majority of voters represent a majority of possible fighters. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are as well enforced in the enfranchised states as in adjoining states where women have no vote.

Where women have school suffrage their votes occasionally turn the scale, but there is never any attempt to install the defeated candidates by force. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. This particular objection is a libel on American manhood.

Will it Increase Divorce?

It will lead to family quarrels and increase divorce.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the

population. In the group of western states, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population. "An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory."

A father sometimes turns his son out of doors for voting the wrong ticket, but among American men this is rare. Where such a case does arise, it is to be met by educating the domestic despot, not by disfranchising all the members of the family but one. A couple who are sensible and good-tempered will not quarrel if they are once in a while unable to think alike about politics. A couple who are not sensible and good-tempered are sure to quarrel anyway—if not about politics, then about something else.

The Question of Chivalry.

It will destroy chivalry.

Justice would be worth more to women than chivalry, if they could not have both. A working girl put the case in a nutshell when she said: "I would gladly stand for twenty minutes in the street car going home, if by doing so I could get the same pay that a man would have had for doing my day's work." But women do not have to stand in the street cars half as often in Denver as in Boston or in New York. Justice and chivalry are not in the least incompatible. Women have more freedom and equality in America than in Europe, yet American men are the most chivalrous in the world.

Known by its Enemies.

It would increase the corruption of politics.

Those who thrive upon the corruption of politics do not think so. The ignorant, vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women.

Too Emotional.

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs, read a paper, in which she said:

"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment.

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do

not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-salable commodity.

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

What is the Unit?

The political unit is the family.

The childless widower, the unmarried boy of 21, and the confirmed old bachelor of 90 have votes; the widow with minor children has none. Under our laws the political unit is not the family, but the male individual. The unequal number of grown persons in different families would make it impossible to treat the family as the political unit.

Women's Small School Vote.

The smallness of women's school vote shows that they would not use the full ballot.

The size of men's vote is just in proportion to the size of the election. At presidential elec-

tions it is very large, at state elections much smaller, at a municipal election smaller still, and at school elections, wherever these are held separately, only a fraction of the men turn out to vote. The smallness of the woman's school vote is regrettable, but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men!"

In Kansas women were given school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they were given full municipal suffrage. Their vote at once became much larger, and has increased at successive elections.

In Colorado women were given school suffrage in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they were given the full ballot, and on January 31, 1899, the Colorado Legislature declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both Houses, that "during this time (the preceding five years) women have exercised the privilege as generally as men."

The women's school vote has completely disproved the fear that the bad women would be the first to rush to the polls. In answer to the prediction that the best women will not vote, Col. Higginson says:* "In Massachusetts, under school suffrage, the complaint has been that *only* the best women vote."

---

*The Nonsense of It.

Will Women Vote?

Women will not vote or will cease to vote after the novelty has worn off.

In Wyoming women have had full suffrage since 1869. The Wyoming Secretary of State, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, says that 90 per cent of them vote. (Woman's Journal, May 6, 1905.)

The Colorado Secretary of State, in a letter to Mrs. Charles Park, of Boston, says that 80 per cent of Colorado women register, and about 72 per cent vote. (Woman's Journal, Aug. 20, 1908.)

The Chief Justice of Idaho and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement that "the large vote cast by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 20, 1908.)

In Australia, in the first elections after the women were enfranchised, which took place in 1903, 359,315 women voted, in 1906, 431,033; and in 1910, 601,946.

When woman suffrage was granted in New Zealand in 1893, the estimated number of women in the country was 139,915. Of these, 109,461 registered to vote; and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial Parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046; in 1908, 190,114. (New Zealand Year Book.)

The majority of the women had never asked for suffrage in any of these places.

A Growing Cause.

Opposition to woman suffrage is growing. In Oregon a larger proportional vote was cast against the suffrage amendment in 1908 *than in* 1906 *or* 1900.

There are now six states in which woman suffrage has been submitted to the voters more than once, at intervals of some years. In five of the six, the latest vote was more favorable to woman suffrage than the first; in one, it was the other way.

In Colorado, when woman suffrage was submitted the first time, it was defeated; the second time, it was carried.

In Kansas, the first time, it received only 9,100 votes; the second time, it received 95,302.

In the State of Washington, the first time, the majority against it was 19,386; the second time it was only 9,882, and it was finally carried in 1910 by a majority of 22,623.

In South Dakota, the first time the adverse majority was 23,610; the second time it dropped to 3,285; the third time—owing to the determined opposition of certain business interests, not women—it went up to 22,520, which was still less than the majority against it the first time..

In California, in 1895, the vote stood 110,355 for and 137,099 against—an adverse majority of 26,744. In 1911, the amendment carried by a majority of 3,587.

Since on their latest vote five states show a gain for woman suffrage, while only one shows a retrogression, it is clear that growth of the cause is the rule, and that the result in Oregon was due to exceptional local circumstances. Which ought to carry the more weight, five states or one?

The Oregon Vote.

The increased adverse vote in Oregon was due to the Anti-Suffrage Association formed by Oregon women, and to the bad results of equal suffrage in the neighboring States of Idaho and Colorado.

Oregon is the only state where a woman suffrage amendment has been submitted more than twice. There it has been submitted five times. Its first submission was in 1884, before any Anti-Suffrage Association had been formed, and before either Idaho or Colorado had granted the ballot to women. At that time it received a smaller proportional vote than it has ever received since. In 1884 it was defeated by a vote of 28,176 to 11,223—almost three to one. In 1908 the vote against it was 58,670 to 36,858; and in 1910, 58,459 to 36,200—which is much less than two to one. Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway writes in the Woman's Journal for November 26, 1910, "F. E. Reed, who was employed as the manager of the anti-suffrage campaign, boasted, in the Oregon Journal, of June 17, that he had had the support of both political parties, of the liquor interest, and of the business interests. He did

not even mention the little anti-suffrage society of Oregon women as a factor in bringing about that result."

The Test of Experiment.

It works badly in practice.

Women now have the full ballot in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, New Zealand, Australia, Finland and Norway. They have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, many of the English colonies, Sweden, Iceland and Denmark. In some of these countries they have had it for generations.

In all these places put together, the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that active anti-suffrage associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage states testify that the results are good.

In Wyoming women have had the full ballot for 43 years. For the last 20 years, the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge, inviting its opponents to find, in all Wyoming, two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had

any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

Doubling the Vote.

It would only double the vote without changing the result.

If letting women sing in church merely doubled the volume of sound, it would still be a good thing, because it would double the number of persons who had the lung exercise and the inspiration of joining in a good hymn and it would make the chorus stronger. If equal suffrage merely doubled the number of voters it would still do good, because to take an interest in public affairs would give women mental stimulus and greater breadth of view; and it would also bring to bear on public problems the minds of an increased number of intelligent and patriotic citizens. But the great advantage of women in music is that they add the soprano and alto to the tenor and bass. If women were exactly like men, equal suffrage would merely double the vote. But women are different from men; and women's voices in the state, like women's voices in the choir, would be the introduction of a new element. This is recognized even by opponents, when they express the fear that equal suffrage would lead to "sentimental legislation."

Men are superior to women along certain lines, and women superior to men along certain others. The points of weakness in American politics at present are precisely the points where

women are strong. There is no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or "smartness" of any kind. There is a dangerous lack of conscience and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more especially to men, are well and shrewdly looked after; the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more especially to women, are apt to be neglected.

Not a Natural Right.

Suffrage is not a natural right.

It is hard to define just what a "natural right" is. Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "If all women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural or inherent right, but one given by society, and which society might therefore control as it saw fit. A great many rights are given by society, of which, however, it would be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex."

Too Many Voters.

We have too many voters already.

This only means that we have too many voters of the wrong kind. If to increase the number of voters were an evil in itself, every woman who becomes the mother of half a dozen sons would have done harm to her country. But if all six grow up to be good voters she has conferred a benefit on her country. So she has, if five of them become good voters, and only one a bad

voter. Woman suffrage would bring in at least five good voters to one bad one.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The governor of one of the enfranchised states writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

Would Unsex Women.

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandanavian countries and our own equal suffrage states are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

Women Do Not Want It.

Whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage, they will get it.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history with what ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

In eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells

us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor, even by those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day, if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The facts and figures for this pamphlet have been drawn from the following sources:

FOR NORWAY: "Norway: the Only Sovereign State Where Women Vote," by Saint Nihal Singh, Twentieth Century Magazine for January, 1911; "Woman Suffrage in Norway," by Gina Krog, International, 1909, vol. 6, pp. 16-21; Report of Fru F. M. Quam, of the Norwegian Landskvindestemmeretsforeningen to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1911.

FOR FINLAND: "Women's Work in the Finnish Parliament," by Hilja Parssinen, International, London, 1909, vol. 5, pp. 122-126; "The Practical Workings of Woman Suffrage in Finland," by the Baroness Alletta Van Reypen Korff, Bryn Mawr Quarterly for April, 1910; Report of Anna Lundstrom, of the Kvinnosaksforbundet Unionen, to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1911.

FOR SWEDEN: "The World Movement for Woman Suffrage," by Ida Husted Harper, Review of Reviews for December, 1911; The Woman's Journal for December 23, 1911 and February 3, 1912.

FOR DENMARK: "The World Movement for Woman Suffrage," by Ida Husted Harper, the Review of Reviews for December, 1911; Official Statistics kindly furnished by J. Clan, Consul General for Denmark in New York City.

FOR ICELAND: "The World Movement for Woman Suffrage," by Ida Husted Harper, Review of Reviews for December, 1911; Re-

port of Briet Asmundsson, of the Icelandic Woman's Rights Association, to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1911.

FOR ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, WALES, the ISLE OF MAN and CANADA: "The World Movement for Woman Suffrage," by Ida Husted Harper, the Reviews of Reviews for 1911; The Woman's Journal for December 23, 1911; The Woman's Journal for August 26, 1911.

FOR NEW ZEALAND: "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand," by Mrs. W. A. Sheppard; "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand," by Lady Stout, Votes for Women for January 5th, 12th and 19th, 1912; New Zealand Year Book.

FOR AUSTRALIA: Report of the Australian Census and Statistics Bureau; "Woman Suffrage in Australia," by Vida Goldstein, The International.

FOR THE UNITED STATES: History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper; "Measuring Up Equal Suffrage," by Judge Ben B. Lindsey and George Creel; "Equal Suffrage," by Helen L. Sumner; "Political Status of Woman in the United States," by Bertha Rembaugh; "Fruits of Equal Suffrage," published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association; "New Laws in the Suffrage States," published by the National Council of Women Voters; reports of the Bureaus of Statistics of the various States; The Woman's Journal.

Where Women Vote

By Frances Maule Björkman

SCANDINAVIA.

Throughout the five countries inhabited by the Scandinavian people, women have more or less electoral rights, and it is likely that this will be the first of the earth's races to adopt full political equality for men and women. At the present time in **FINLAND** all women have full suffrage; in **NORWAY** all women have municipal, and tax-paying women full suffrage; in **SWEDEN, DENMARK** and **ICELAND** tax-paying women have municipal suffrage on the same terms as men. In all five countries women are eligible for all the offices for which they vote. In all, bills are now pending providing for the removal of what political disabilities still remain, and sentiment in favor of these measures is so strong that it is almost certain that by next year (1913) Scandinavian women will be possessed of all the political rights that have been granted to the men of their respective countries.

NORWAY.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women	1901
Full franchise granted tax-paying women	1907
Municipal franchise extended to all women	1910
Number of women having the municipal franchise	500,000
Number of women having the full franchise	300,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	20 to 55

History.

NORWAY was the first wholly free and independent nation to give full suffrage to even a part of its women.

In 1901 the municipal franchise was granted to women who, either in their own persons or with their husbands, paid taxes on an income amounting to about $100 a year or on approximately $100 worth of property—in number about 300,000. In 1905 the question of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway was submitted to the voters, and the women, although legally disqualified from expressing their opinion, took an informal ballot on the question and submitted it to the Störthing. Three hundred thousand women, as against the 400,000 men who cast their formal ballots, took advantage of this opportunity to declare themselves, albeit informally, for national independence.

This manifestation of public spirit produced a profound impression upon the men of the country, and in 1907 the Störthing entertained two different measures for extending full political rights—one to all women and the other to those women who already possessed the municipal franchise.

The Conservatives, who were interested in keeping the balance of power in the hands of the propertied classes, defeated the more democratic measure, but the other passed by a vote of 96 to 25.

In 1910, largely through pressure brought to bear upon the Störthing by the women voters, the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise, and in 1911 a bill providing for its removal from the Parliamentary came within five votes of the necessary two-thirds majority of passing. It

will very probably get through in the session of 1912, so that in the next Parliamentary elections all of Norway's 500,000 women of voting age will have the right to cast their ballots on exactly the same terms as men.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the meantime, however, Norwegian women have exercised their privilege in four municipal elections, taking place in 1901, 1904, 1907, and 1910; and in one Parliamentary election, taking place in 1909. In the Parliamentary election 55.29 per cent. of the women eligible cast their ballots, as against 67.47 per cent. of the men; and in the municipal elections from 20.9 per cent. to 33.7 per cent. of the women, as against 45.2 per cent. to 54 per cent. of the men. In the municipal elections of 1910, 92,256 women, as against 83,905 men, cast their votes in the cities, an increase of 8,351 women, as against an increase of only 6,659 men, over the elections of 1907. In the country districts, owing, probably, to the difficulty of reaching the polling places, only 89,385 women, as against 183,598 men, cast their votes, but this marked an increase of 55,421 women voters, as against an increase of only 26,833 in the elections of 1907.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to Parliament and to all other elective offices. In each municipal election since women have been eligible a number have been elected to city and county councils. In 1907, 20 women were elected members of municipal councils, and 96 women alternates. In 1910, this number was more than doubled, 44 women having been elected members, and 178, alternates.

One woman, Miss Anna Rogstad, a teacher, was elected alternate to one of the members of the Störthing, in the Parliamentary elections of 1909, and in his absence took the seat and discharged the duties of the office with dignity and efficiency. In the speech in which he welcomed this, the first woman in the Norwegian Parliament, the Speaker of the House said that he regarded the day as one of the most important in the history of Norway, and that he believed that posterity would look upon it as one bringing honor and credit to the country.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The woman voters have already produced an effect upon the national life by forcing a consideration, such as was never given before, of state problems affecting the welfare of women and children. When the new Factory Law was passed, they succeeded in securing a clause providing for the appointment of a woman factory inspector, with a woman assistant. They are now working for the establishment of schools for the teaching of domestic science and for certain reforms in the election laws which, as at present constituted, considerably hamper their projects.

FINLAND.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in country districts..	1863
Municipal franchise granted . tax-paying women in city districts.....	1872
Full franchise granted all women.....	1906
Number of women having the full franchise	40,000
Percentage of eligible women who vote	55 to 60

History.

FINLAND, whose men and women have together struggled for years against a foreign oppressor, extended the municipal franchise to tax-paying women living in the country in 1863, and to tax-paying women living in the cities in 1872. In 1906, after a great uprising of the people, a new constitution was granted by the Russian Czar, and the full Parliamentary suffrage for women was granted by the first Diet that followed.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections after the women were enfranchised, taking place shortly after the enactment of the measure, no separate records were kept of the women voters; but in 1908, when, the Diet having been dissolved by the Czar, new elections were held, 19,640 women registered as against 15,516 men. Fifty-seven per cent. of the women eligible cast their ballots. In Helsingfors, the capital city, the women voters outnumbered the men by more than four thousand.

Office Holding.

Nineteen women, representing all four of the political parties, were elected to the first Diet, twenty-five to the second and twenty-one to the third. Before the elections for the present Diet, an edict was issued giving the Russian Imperial Council the right to revise or reject practically all the legislation initiated by the Finns themselves, and this had the effect of causing the already discouraged people practically to abandon all further efforts to improve their social conditions until their political differences with Russia had been settled. The voting for members of the fourth

Diet was apathetic, and only sixteen women were elected—the people arguing, apparently, that since the special measures in which women were chiefly interested had no chance until the political crisis was over, there was no use in making a special effort to send them to Parliament.

The women legislators have come from all classes of society. Among them have been teachers, writers, editors, seamstresses, doctors of philosophy, state officials, social workers, and wives of peasants, mechanics and professional men. Most of them have been over forty, and most of them have been married women. Three have had husbands sitting in the Diet with them. Three have given birth to children during their terms of office, but without absenting themselves from the sessions for more than a few weeks.

Effect Upon Legislation.

During the short period before its dissolution, the nineteen women of the first Diet proposed no less than twenty-six measures. Among these were bills providing for equal property rights for married women; for the abolition of the guardianship of the husband over the wife; for more rights of mothers over their children; for raising the age of protection for young girls; for raising the age of legal marriage for women from fifteen to seventeen; for fixing the legal status of illegitimate children; for more extensive employment of women in state service; for state subsidies for schools of domestic training, for temperance work, for the distribution of free meals to school children, and for maternity insurance; for the appointment of an authorized mid-wife in each parish; for the encouragement and extension of co-education; for the

appointment of women as sanitary inspectors; for giving women the same rights as men with respect to legal assistance; for the abolition of disciplinary punishments in prisons; for making insults to women on the public highways a penal offense; for the construction of a certain railway, and for pardoning the Finns that took part in the Sveaborg revolt.

Owing to the summary dissolution of the Diet, only three of these were acted upon—those concerning the appointment of midwives, the establishment of schools of domestic training, and the raising of the age for marriage. Practically all the other measures, and some new ones, were reintroduced into the second Diet, but with even less results, owing to the same cause. In the third Diet the women members introduced measures providing that women should have the right to be advocates, for heavier sentences for rape, for the abolition of punishment for blasphemy for the erection of homes for helpless children and their mothers, for the protection of clerks and shop assistants, and for the establishment of licensed labor bureaus.

Even under the well-nigh impossible conditions the women voters and members of Parliament have been able to make their influence felt. To them is largely due the rational and conservative reforms that have already done so much to lift the national curse of intemperance. They were chiefly instrumental in securing a large governmental appropriation for rescue work among women and children in cities.

J. N. Reuter, of Finland, writes: "I hear from my friends in the House—hardened and level-headed business men among them—that the women acquit themselves very creditably of their task, not only in debate but also in committee work, where their special experi-

ence often is very valuable, as concerning female labor, child legislation, education and so on. They never constitute a disturbing element; they are less voluble in debate than men, and the average frequency of the women members' participation in debate is considerably lower than that of men. Not only does everybody agree that it has done no harm to the community whatever, but most people decidedly believe that the work of legislation derives great benefit from the presence in the House of women members."

SWEDEN.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters.....	1862
Municipal franchise granted all women, same terms as men.....	1909

History.

SWEDEN was the first country in the world to extend to women any measure of suffrage except on bonding and school matters. For more than a century Swedish women have had some measure of communal franchise rights, and as early as 1862 unmarried women who paid taxes were given the full municipal vote. At that time the franchise for men was so heavily encumbered with restrictions that not one-tenth of the male population was qualified to exercise it. In 1909, however, a new electoral law was enacted, removing most of the restrictions from the franchise for men and extending the municipal franchise to all women. In 1909 a bill to extend the full franchise to women was passed unanimously by the Lower House of the Riksdag, but was de-

feated in the Upper, which, of course, is always composed of the conservative element. In 1911 the women made a special effort to secure the election of members of the Liberal and Socialist parties, both of which had included woman suffrage in their platforms. The Conservatives were driven out of power, a strong majority of members pledged to woman suffrage elected to both Houses, and a Liberal Ministry installed.

In 1912, in his first speech to the new Cabinet, the Prime Minister announced that a bill providing for the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men would be brought in and pushed with all the facilities of the government, and the King himself made a speech from the throne recommending the measure. This practically guarantees the passage of the bill in the immediate future.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Swedish women have voted in increasing numbers as the franchise has been widened, until now their activity in communal affairs compares very favorably with that of men.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all the offices for which they vote and many have been elected and have served and are serving satisfactorily.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Women exert a very decided influence upon municipal affairs, but, lacking the Parliamentary vote, have so far been unable to influence national legislation to any considerable extent.

DENMARK.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes	1908
Number of women enfranchised	422,999
Percentage of women eligible who vote	38 to 70

History.

DENMARK did not give the municipal vote until 1908. The preceding year, 1907, it took its first step by giving women the right to vote for and to serve on boards of public charities. This done, however, the Parliament entertained a measure to extend the full suffrage. The bill passed in the Lower House, but was blocked in the Upper. Since a majority of all the political parties are in favor of the measure, and since, moreover, the Premier and Speakers of both Houses have spoken openly in its behalf, it is almost certain that the measure will go through in the near future.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the elections of 1909, 50 per cent. of the eligible women voted, as opposed to 76.5 per cent. of the men. As always, it was the vote of the country districts, where women cannot always leave home to get to the polls, that pulled down the average. In Copenhagen nearly 70 per cent. of the eligible women cast their ballots, and in the other cities the vote of the women ranged from 66 per cent. to 70 per cent., whereas, in some of the country districts it fell as low as 38 per cent. The actual number of women voting in all districts was 199,239, as against 328,315 men.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all the offices for which they vote, and in 1909, 127 were elected to town councils, seven to the Council of Copenhagen. One woman has been appointed a police officer, and two municipal treasurers.

Effect Upon Legislation.

So far, since members of Parliament have nothing to win or lose from the woman vote, the women's influence upon legislation has been almost wholly confined to municipal affairs. Women have, however, succeeded in getting through Parliament a bill that provides for the omission of the word "obey" from the marriage service, and have also secured some concessions in the matter of property rights. The two large woman suffrage associations are carrying on a work of political education that is fitting the women of Denmark to make a very effective use of their Parliamentary franchise when they get it.

ICELAND.

ICELAND, which is a dependency of Denmark, with its own Parliament, gave the municipal franchise to self-supporting widows and spinsters in 1882, and in 1909 extended it to all women who pay taxes. In 1911 a measure providing for full suffrage for all women passed the Icelandic Parliament. Before this can become effective, however, it must pass a second Parliament—which it will undoubtedly do soon—and be approved by the King of Denmark—from which quarter no opposition is anticipated. In 1902 women were made eligible to all the offices for which they vote. Since that time one-fourth of the members of the capital city, Reykjavik, have been

women. A woman has been given the position of head of the communal school at Akureyn, one of the largest in Iceland, and at the same salary formerly paid to a man, although many men applied for the position.

GREAT BRITIAN.

Women have the municipal franchise throughout the British Isles. It was granted in **ENGLAND** and **WALES** in 1869, in **SCOTLAND** in 1881, and in **IRELAND** in 1898. In England, Scotland and Wales women have been eligible as mayors and members of city and county councils since 1907, and in England three have been elected and served successfully as mayors. Ireland made women eligible to borough and county councils in 1911. In the **ISLE OF MAN** women property owners were given the full Parliamentary franchise in 1881, and in 1892 the same right was extended to all women who pay rent or taxes. In **CANADA**, in some of the provinces, the municipal franchise has been granted to tax-paying widows and spinsters, and in others to all tax-paying women. In almost all of the provinces, women who pay taxes have at least the school suffrage. It is, however, only in the colonies of the South Pacific—**NEW ZEALAND** and **AUSTRALIA**—that British women have achieved full political rights. Here, however, they have led the way for the rest of the world.

NEW ZEALAND.

Municipal suffrage granted all women.	**1886**
Full suffrage granted all women.....	**1893**
Number of women eligible.....	**300,000**
Percentage of eligible women who vote	**74 to 85**

History.

NEW ZEALAND was the first country to give full suffrage to all women. This hustling island colony made good its title as "the most progressive state in the world" by granting the school vote to women in 1877, the municipal vote in 1886, and the full Parliamentary vote in 1893.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections, which took place only a few weeks after the measure went into effect, 85 per cent. of the qualified women cast their ballots, as against 69 per cent. of the men, and in no election since has the vote of the women fallen below 74 per cent. of the total number qualified, while the vote of the men has risen steadily until it now averages 75 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the qualified, whereas, before the women got the vote it frequently fell below 60 per cent. The exact figures, as given by the Official Year Book of New Zealand, are as follows:

MEN

Date of election	Estimated number men eligible	Number men on rolls	Per cent eligible who registered	Number who voted	Per cent on rolls who voted
1893	179,539	193,536	all	129,792	69.61
1896	197,002	196,925	99.96	149,471	75.90
1899	214,773	210,529	98.02	158,780	79.06
1902	233,602	229,845	98.39	180,294	78.44
1905	273,175	263,597	96.49	221,611	84.07
1908	295,446	294,073	99.54	238,534	81.11

WOMEN

1893	139,471	109,461	78.48	90,290	85.18
1896	158,656	142,305	89.13	108,783	76.44
1899	171,373	163,215	95.24	119,550	75.70
1902	195,783	185,944	94.97	138,565	74.52
1905	226,933	212,876	93.80	175,046	82.22
1908	243,504	242,930	99.76	190,114	78.26

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all elective offices, except membership in Parliament, but as yet, owing to the unsettled conditions of the country that tend to keep the women occupied with the work of their homes, they have not, to any great extent, taken advantage of this fact.

Effect Upon Legislation.

It is generally conceded by officials of state that the woman vote has had a marked influence upon the life of the colony by directing public attention to many questions, chiefly bearing upon the welfare of women and children, that had formerly received scant recognition.

Since women got the vote Legislative measures have been enacted making women eligible to practice at the bar; giving equal educational opportunities and honors to both sexes in common schools, high schools and universities; establishing old age pensions; providing for the licensing of servants' employment bureaus in order to protect girls from the w slave traffic; providing measures for the protection of adopted and boarded-out children; providing for the maintenance of destitute persons by their relatives; regulating property succession so as to insure provision for testator's wife, husband, or family—a fair division, regardless of sex—and the maintenance of defective and invalid children; making compulsory the maintenance of wife and family upon men, and providing that wages be paid to prisoners for the support of wife and family; creating and regulating industrial and technical schools; providing state aid for expectant mothers; preventing a deserting hus-

band or putative father of an illegitimate child from leaving the country; providing punishment for sexual offenses; providing for humane and reformatory methods of dealing with prisoners; instituting the probation system; suppressing indecent pictures and immoral literature and plays; creating a juvenile court; making conditions of divorce equal for both sexes; providing for compensation to women for slander; legitimatizing and giving equal property rights to children born before the marriage of parents; providing equal pay for equal work; insuring healthy conditions and a minimum wage for working women; instituting regulations against the employment of children; instituting temperance regulations; repealing the contagious disease act, under which prostitutes had to submit to medical inspection, which was found useless to minimize the evils of prostitution and humiliated the women while letting the men go free.

AUSTRALIA.

State suffrage granted in South Australia	1895
State suffrage granted in West Australia	1900
State suffrage granted in New South Wales	1902
State suffrage granted in Tasmania	1903
State suffrage granted in Queensland.	1905
State suffrage granted in Victoria	1908
Full suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia	1902
Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia	1,100,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	40 to 60

History.

In **AUSTRALIA** an anomalous condition existed for several years because of the fact that the Federation had given full Parliamentary suffrage to women, whereas at the time the measure passed, only two of the states had granted the state franchise.

The six states united in a federation in 1902. Two, South and West Australia, had already given votes to women—South Australia in 1895 and West Australia in 1900—so that when the new Federal Parliament convened for the first time it already contained a contingency favorable to the extension of suffrage to women, and a measure granting women the right to vote for members of the Federal Parliament went through at the first session. New South Wales immediately extended the state franchise, and Tasmania followed in the next year. Queensland put the measure through in 1905, and Victoria in 1908, so that now all the women of Federated Australia possess practically all the political rights of men. A slight disability still exists in New South Wales and West Australia, where women are not yet eligible to sit in the state Parliaments. In all the other countries, however, they are on a basis of perfect equality in the matter of eligibility for office, as well as of voting.

Extent of Woman Vote.

The number of eligible persons, both men and women, who actually go to the polls in Australia, has been rather low, a fact which is explained, possibly, by the newness of the country which makes getting about difficult for men as well as for women. The percentages, for both state and federal elections, are rising, however, with the advance of social

organization. Each federal election has shown a marked increase in both the men's and the women's vote with the exception of that of 1910, in which the woman vote was extraordinarily light. The exact figures for the vote for members of the Senate are herewith given. The vote for the members of the House of Representatives is practically the same, since it has exactly the same electorate, the only difference being that all the votes for members of the Senate must appear in the official returns, since each election for the Senate must be contested, whereas in the case of the House many elections go uncontested, and do not, therefore, appear in the returns.

Men

	Electors enrolled	Number voting	Percentage enrolled who voted
1903	994,984	527,907	53.09
1906	1,114,187	628,135.	56.38
1910	1,186,783	8,020,030	67.58

Women

1903	899,102	359,315	39.96
1906	995,375	431,033	43.30
1910	1,071,699	601,946	36.17

Office Holding.

Women are eligible for all offices for which they vote, except, as has been stated, in New South Wales and West Australia, where a slight disability still exists; but they have not as yet taken advantage of their eligibility to any extent. No woman has yet been elected

to the Federal Parliament or to any of the state Parliaments.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The effect of the woman vote upon legislation has, however, been marked. Since getting the franchise they have backed and helped secure measures providing for equal pay for equal work; equal naturalization laws; protection of juvenile immigrants, regulation of the food and milk supplies; protection of infant life, appointment of police matrons; establishment of juvenile courts; state support for free kindergartens and playgrounds; establishment of old age pensions; establishment of eight-hour day for women; state boards for the fixing of a minimum wage scale, and hours and conditions for working women.

Women are also lending their efforts as voters to measures providing for equal marriage and divorce, equal custody and guardianship of children, and the raising of the age of protection for young girls.

In 1910 both Houses of the Federal Parliament passed the following resolutions:

1. That this House testifies to the facts that after sixteen years' experience of woman suffrage in various parts of Australasia, and nine years' experience in the Commonwealth, the reform has justified the hopes of its supporters and falsified all the fears and prophecies of disaster voiced by its opponents.

2. That as foreseen by its advocates, its effects have been (a) to gradually educate women to a sense of their responsibility in public affairs; (b) to give more prominence to social and domestic legislation.

3. That Australian experience convinces this House that to adopt woman suffrage is simply to apply to the political sphere that

principle of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere—the mutual co-operation of men and women for the individual and general welfare.

THE UNITED STATES.

In six of the **UNITED STATES—WYOMING, COLORADO, IDAHO, UTAH, WASHINGTON** and **CALIFORNIA**—women have full suffrage; in one—**KANSAS**—they have municipal suffrage; in eighteen—**OREGON, ARIZONA, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, NEW JERSEY, CONNECTICUT, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, VERMONT, KENTUCKY, OHIO, WISCONSIN, ILLINOIS, MISSISSIPPI, MINNESOTA, NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA,** and **NEBRASKA**—some form of school suffrage; in four—**MONTANA, MICHIGAN, NEW YORK** and **DELAWARE**—some form of school and some form of tax-paying suffrage, both; and in two—**IOWA** and **LOUISIANA**—tax-paying suffrage.

WYOMING.

Full suffrage granted	**1869**
Number of women eligible	**34,000**
Per cent. of women eligible to vote	**80 to 90**

History.

Wyoming is the pioneer equal suffrage State in America, full political equality having been the basis of its government as long as it has had a government at all. The words "equal

rights" form the motto on its State seal. The very first legislative council, after its organization as a territory, passed, in 1869, a bill providing that women should have the same rights as men to vote and hold office, and when it was admitted as a State in 1890, before any other State had given women the vote, equal suffrage was made a part of its Constitution.

During the early days of woman's enfranchisement in Wyoming several attempts were made at securing a repeal, but they all failed and for many years now the status of the women of Wyoming has been unquestioned in their own State. At the time statehood was applied for, a determined opposition was made in Congress to the admission of a territory with a woman suffrage clause in its Constitution. So violent was the feeling, that the territorial delegate in Congress, Joseph M. Carey, now Governor of the State, telegraphed the Legislature that he feared statehood would not be granted if the suffrage clause were not abandoned. The Legislature, which was then in session, telegraphed back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years, rather than come in without woman suffrage."

During the forty-three years that the measure has been in effect, every Governor has testified to its good effects, including the territorial Governors, who are appointed by the President, and are not, therefore, dependent upon votes.

In 1900 a petition was circulated in the State asking Congress to submit to the Legislatures of the various States a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. This was signed by the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Auditor, State Superintendent of Schools, State Engineer, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the United States District Attorney, the United States Surveyor General,

the Director and the Observer of the United States Weather Bureau, the Mayor of Cheyenne, and a long list of editors, ministers, lawyers, physicians, bankers, and the most prominent women of the State.

In 1893, and again in 1899, the House of Representatives adopted resolutions declaring that woman suffrage had been an unmixed advantage to the State. In 1901 the Legislature as a whole unanimously adopted similar resolutions and added an appeal to other States to adopt the measure as one tending toward the amelioration of all evil social conditions.

Extent of Woman Vote.

From the first, Wyoming women have voted in practically the same numbers as men. In some elections, where the issues involved have appealed with particular force to women, the woman vote has considerably exceeded that of the man vote. It has been repeatedly stated by various officials that from 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the women eligible cast their ballots.

Office Holding.

Though eligible to all offices, the Wyoming women—possibly because of the still unsettled conditions of the country that tend to keep them busy with home labor—have not gone in for office-holding to the same extent as women in the other suffrage States. One woman has served as a member of the House of Representatives in the Legislature, and numbers as State Superintendent of Schools, county clerk, recorder, treasurer, etc, and as justices of the peace—one woman having made a quite remarkable record in this capacity.

In territorial days women served very generally on juries, to the freely expressed satisfaction of the judges. Later, however—a chief justice opposed to the participation of women in extra-domestic activities replacing the former more liberal justice—the custom gradually fell into disuse. Women are, however, still eligible and are occasionally summoned in special cases.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Despite the lack of effective organization, due to frontier conditions of life, the women have been able to exert considerable influence upon legislation. They have helped to secure measures making gambling illegal; giving women absolute rights over their own property; providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; providing penalties for child neglect, abuse or cruelty; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making it unlawful to give or sell liquor or tobacco to children; establishing kindergartens and a State industrial school; providing for the care of dependent children and infirm, indigent or incompetent persons; making State pure food regulations conform with the national law; and providing for the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government, direct primaries, accounting for campaign expenses on the part of candidates for political offices, and the headless ballot.

COLORADO.

Full suffrage granted	**1893**
Number of women eligible	**160,000**
Percentage of women eligible who vote	**75 to 85**

History.

COLORADO conferred suffrage upon women in 1893 by enactment of a law which was submitted to the voters and carried by a majority of only a little over 6,000. In 1901, after women had been exercising the privilege for eight years, the measure carried as a constitutional amendment by a majority of 17,000.*

No attempt at repeal has ever been made. On the contrary, practically every public man of importance in the State has at one time or another placed himself on record as commending the participation of Colorado women in public affairs, while not six men of standing have been induced to assert over their own signatures that woman suffrage has brought about one single evil, or even that it has failed to effect improvements.

Owing to the fact that conditions are more like those in the typical American commonwealth than conditions in any of the other States that have enfranchised women—with the exception of Washington and California, in which the measure is too recent to have yielded marked results—Colorado has been chosen for most of the investigations that have been made into the workings of equal suffrage. The few unfavorable reports that have appeared—all, it must be said, in publications of known anti-suffrage tendencies—have called forth an avalanche of indignant refutation from the most representative men of the State.

In 1898, as a result of certain misrepresentations, a statement approving equal suffrage was issued, signed by the Governor, three ex-

*It has been frequently stated that the majority for equal suffrage was, on this occasion, 30,000, but this is an error.

Governors, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, both members of Congress, the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the District Court, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the State Auditor, the Attorney General, the Mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College, and the presidents and officers of numerous women's clubs.

In 1899 the Colorado Legislature passed, by a vote of 45 to 3 in the House and 30 to 1 in the Senate, a resolution declaring that during the time that equal suffrage had been in operation women had used the vote as generally as men, with the result that better candidates had been selected for office, election methods had been purified, and the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased and womanhood developed; and recommending the adoption of the measure by all the States and territories of the Union.

In 1911, as a result of an attack upon the workings of equal suffrage in Colorado, the men of the State formed the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association in order to supply accurate information with regard to the system and to correct misrepresentations. Its president is ex-Governor Alva Adams, and its vice-president and secretary are Hon. I. N. Stevens and Hon. Omar E. Garwood, both leading lawyers. On its executive committee are United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey, Congressman John A. Martin, District Attorney George A. Carlson, ex-Judge Grant L. Hudson, Judge Harry C. Riddle, Congressman Edward T. Taylor, Congressman A. W. Rucker, District Attorney Walter M. Morgan, Deputy City Auditor Joseph J. Vick Roy, Dr. Barton O. Aylesworth, formerly president of

Colorado Agricultural College, and Hon. W. W. Garwood, a leading lawyer.

Extent of Woman Vote.

From the first Colorado women have used their vote as extensively as the men—and often in considerably larger numbers. Although they have never constituted anything like half the population, they have frequently cast nearly half the entire vote. Between 75 per cent. and 85 per cent. of the women eligible cast their ballots at every election, the figure varying with the special appeal of the issues involved.

Office Holding.

Women have held office more extensively in Colorado than in any of the other suffrage States so far. Since they became eligible, one or more women have been elected to the House of Representatives of the Legislature every year except during a priod of six years reaching from 1903 to 1909. Four served in the session of 1911. On one occasion a woman Representative distinguished herself by acting as Speaker of the House during a stormy session that would have confused any but the most expert parliamentarian. The report of the investigation into the workings of equal suffrage in Colorado by Dr. Helen Sumner states that the women members have averaged above the men members in intelligence, although there has never been a woman member who equaled the most brilliant man, and that the character of the legislation which they have introduced has averaged higher than that introduced by the men. Most of them have been married women or widows with grown or half-grown children.

From the first year of their eligibility, women have held the office of State Superintendent of Schools—one for four successive terms, another for three successive terms. Of their record Dr. Sumner says: "There seems, all things considered, ample warrant for the conclusion that the women who have held the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Colorado have made better records than the men who formerly held the office."

The offices of county superintendent of schools usually go to women, and women are frequently elected county clerks, treasurers, coroners, assessors, clerks of district and county court, auditors, etc. They also hold several city offices. They are eligible to sit on juries, but it has never become customary to impanel them except in special cases.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Women have been able to influence legislation extensively, despite the opposition to the measures proposed by them on the part of certain powerful commercial interests that dominate the political life of the State. Their most notable achievement was the retention in office of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the famous Denver Juvenile Court, when both political parties were arrayed against him.

Their influence as voters has been largely instrumental in securing measures making mothers joint guardians with the fathers over their children; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; establishing a juvenile court; making parents responsible for the offenses of delinquent children, when they have by neglect or any other cause contributed to such delinquency; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making the wife the head of the family in cases where she

provides the principal support; providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes conducted by private individuals; compelling men to support their families and making wife-desertion a felony; providing penalties for the punishment of male and female procurers; making it a felony for any person under 18 to work as a servant or employe in any house of ill-fame; making immoral solicitation a felony; imposing heavy penalties upon men for living upon the earnings of immoral women; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten years; establishing State parental schools; establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the board to be women; requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women; establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the board to be women; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded; making father and mother joint heirs of a deceased child; establishing a State traveling library commission to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, to be appointed by the Governor; prohibiting the gift or sale of cigarettes to children; prohibiting the sale of opium; making employers liable for industrial accidents; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot (an approach to an educational qualification for voting); establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners; making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection, and providing for the teaching of humanity to animals in the public schools. Before the franchise was granted, women's property rights had already been fairly well secured, and since that time

the last discriminations have been removed, so that, with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men.

UTAH.

Full suffrage granted	**1896**
Number of women eligible	**55,500**
Percentage of women eligible who vote	**85 to 90**

History.

In 1870, before **UTAH** was admitted as a State, the territorial Legislature passed a measure adopting equal suffrage, and for seventeen years women voted at all elections and acted as delegates to political conventions and members of territorial and county committees, but they were not eligible to office. In 1887 Congress passed a bill taking away the rights granted by the territorial Legislature, and during the remaining nine years of the territorial period Utah women were without the vote. In 1896, however, when statehood was conferred, equal suffrage was included in the Constitution. Since then women have been unquestioningly accepted on an equal political footing with men in all respects.

Extent of Woman Vote.

The Commissioner of the State Bureau of Statistics declares that women vote in as large or larger numbers than men—from 85 per cent. to 90 per cent. of those eligible casting their ballots.

Office Holding.

Several women have been elected to the State Legislature, one to the Senate—so far

the first and only woman to sit in the upper chamber of a legislature in any State. Women also serve in considerable numbers as county clerks, treasurers, recorders, auditors, assessors, and county superintendents of schools. Although eligible, they do not customarily do jury service.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since their enfranchisement they have aided in securing measures providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers; raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; establishing free public libraries in cities and towns; requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene including the effects of stimulants and narcotics; providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing; providing for a curfew bell at 9 p. m. to keep children off the streets at night; making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept or have in his possession, cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic; providing for the protection of dependent, neglected or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible; requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size; prohibiting traffic in women; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; prohibiting the employment of women more than nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week; providing for medical examination of school children; authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease; providing for sanitary inspection of slaughter houses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared; forcing wife-deserters to pay a cer-

tain sum for the support of their families; giving local option on the liquor question. Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men.

IDAHO.

Full suffrage granted..... 1896
Number of women eligible..... 68,000
Percentage eligible who vote..... 75 to 85

History.

In 1895 the **IDAHO** Legislature voted, unanimously in the Senate and 33 to 2 in the House, to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution, and in 1896 the measure carried by a majority of 5,844.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Despite the unsettled state of the country, which makes it difficult for women to get to the polls, women in Idaho have exercised their rights as fully as men, and sometimes in considerably larger numbers, the percentage of eligible women who vote ranging from 75 per cent. to 85 per cent.

Office Holding.

A number of women have been elected to the House of Representatives of the Legislature, and have filled satisfactorily a number of county and city offices. In 1900 the Legislature passed a bill exempting women from jury service, but this was vetoed by the Governor, in response to a protest from the women themselves. It is not customary for women to serve, however, except in special cases.

Effect Upon Legislation.

In the first session of the Legislature after they got the vote, women aided materially in getting through a measure of the utmost importance to the young State, namely, an anti-gambling law. In the six sessions since then they have helped to secure measures raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; creating a juvenile court; creating a State humane society; increasing the control of married women over their independent property; establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission, consisting of the president of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General; providing for a department of domestic science in the State University and for a course of lectures on the subject in the Academy of Idaho; establishing an industrial school; providing for the inspection and regulation of places where foods and drugs are prepared; providing for the commission form of government; providing anti-trust regulations; establishing measures for the control of the sale of liquor; and prohibiting persons of lewd lives, both men and women, from voting.

The Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs has prepared, for introduction into the next Legislature, bills providing for equal guardianship of children; medical inspection of school children; instruction in sex hygiene in the public schools; the closing of houses of prostitution, and making venereal diseases reportable.

WASHINGTON.

Full suffrage granted..... 1910
Number of women eligible..... 170,000
Percentage eligible who vote..... 85 to 95

History.

In 1883 the territorial Legislature passed a bill adopting equal suffrage, and for four years the women of **WASHINGTON** voted in as large, or larger, numbers than the men—to such good effect as to call forth glowing encomiums from the State press. In 1886 some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the act. Nevertheless, in 1887, certain vicious elements that had suffered through the woman vote, succeeded in having the bill declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, on the grounds that it was improperly titled. The following year the Legislature re-enacted it—this time perfect in every respect. In 1889 the same elements that had secured the first reversal succeeded in getting the Supreme Court to disfranchise women on the grounds that territorial legislatures had no power to extend suffrage.

When statehood was applied for, the women tried to get the measure incorporated into the new constitution, but they were unable to do more than secure the submission of the question as an amendment. It was defeated by a majority of 19,000. In 1898 they again secured a submission of the question as a constitutional amendment, and this time it was defeated by a majority of 10,000. In 1910 the amendment was submitted for the third time, and won by a majority of 20,000—two to one in every election district.

The granting of the vote to the women of Washington is generally regarded as the most

important victory in the suffrage movement up to that time for the reason that the feminine population is larger, the general population denser, the cities larger and more numerous, and the industries and all other conditions of life more like those of the typical American commonwealth.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Immediately after their enfranchisement, the women of Washington registered in overwhelming numbers, and in the local elections that have been held, from 85 per cent. to 95 per cent. eligible have gone to the polls.

Office Holding.

As the first State election since women got the vote in Washington will not take place until November of this year (1912), they have not yet had an opportunity to offer themselves as candidates for State offices. They have, however, been elected to some city offices at local elections. They have served rather extensively on juries, and have resisted all attempts to relieve them of this duty.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The first opportunity they will have for introducing legislation will be at the legislative session of 1913.

CALIFORNIA

Full suffrage granted	**1911**
Number of women eligible	**670,987**
Percentage of women eligible who vote	**90 to 99**

History.

In 1896 a woman suffrage amendment to the

State Constitution was submitted to the voters by the **CALIFORNIA** Legislature, and defeated by a vote of 26,744. In 1911 the amendment was submitted for the second time and carried by a majority of 4,000.

This is an even greater victory than the one preceding, as conditions in California are even more typical of American civilization in its most advanced stage than those in Washington. It doubles the number of women voters, and adds to the number of Presidential electors elected by the votes of both men and women as many as Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming or of Washington and Colorado put together.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Never in the history of American politics has there been such a registration of voters as that immediately following the enfranchisement of the California women. In Los Angeles, where the first city election was held, practically all women of voting age hastened to place their names upon the rolls, and from 95 per cent. to 99 per cent. of those registered actually cast their ballots, outnumbering the men in almost every district. In all the city elections that have taken place so far both the registration and the vote of women has been unprecedented.

Office Holding.

There has as yet been no opportunity for women to be elected to office; but women have welcomed every chance to sit on juries and have acquitted themselves with such distinction as to call forth generally favorable comments from the press of the country.

Effect Upon Legislation.

As yet women have had no opportunity to

propose any legislation, but they have taken advantage of the opportunity offered by local elections to vote for many progressive improvements in their municipalities; and most of the suffrage associations have reorganized as civic clubs for the study of social and governmental problems in order that they may be able to work effectively when their chance does come.

KANSAS.

Municipal suffrage granted 1887
Number of women eligible.....300,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote, 60 to 70

History.

In 1887 the **KANSAS** legislature passed a law conferring the municipal franchise upon women.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Women in Kansas use the municipal franchise in large and increasing numbers, but not to the same extent as women in the equal suffrage states use the full franchise.

Office Holding.

There is no express, and seems to be no implied, restriction upon the right of women to hold office except in the case of certain specified posts. More than twenty-five have at various times been elected and served as mayors of small cities, in several instances with a board of aldermen composed wholly of women, and frequently with women on the board. Innumerable women have served and are serving efficiently in all sorts of city and country offices.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Women wield decided power in their municipalities and have succeeded in effecting many reforms through the enactment of city ordinances; but naturally, since they can not vote for members of the legislature, they have not been able to do as much in matters requiring changes in the statutes.

It is true, however, that the laws of Kansas are unusually fair to women—a fact usually attributed to the long-continued agitation of the suffragists. The existing statutes provide for equal guardianship, equal property and inheritance rights and fix the age of legal protection for girls at eighteen.

DO YOU KNOW?

By

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

DO YOU KNOW that the question of votes for women is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world; that woman suffrage organizations of representative men and women exist in twenty-two different countries; that in this country alone there are no less than 1,000 woman suffrage organizations; that there is an International Men's League for Woman Suffrage and numbers of local men's leagues; that the number of women who are asking for the vote in this country is larger than the number of men who have ever asked for anything in its entire history; that more and larger petitions asking for votes for women have been sent to legislative bodies than for any other one measure; that during 1911 the press of this country gave more space to woman suffrage than

to any other one public question; that there are in this country no less than nine periodical publications devoted exclusively to winning votes for women?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of New Zealand and the women of Australia possess all the political rights accorded to men?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Finland vote in all elections upon the same terms as men, and that since their enfranchisement in 1906, from sixteen to twenty-five have been elected to the different Parliaments?

DO YOU KNOW that in Norway all women have the municipal franchise and tax-paying women the full Parliamentary vote, and that the last small political disability will probably be wiped out this year (1912); that in 1910, one woman sat in the Norwegian Parliament and 222 women were elected members and alternates to city councils?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Iceland have the municipal franchise equally with men, that since 1902 one-

fourth of the members of the council of the capital city have been women, that in 1911 a bill giving the full franchise to women on the same terms as men passed the Icelandic Parliament and that this will undoubtedly pass a second time at the next Parliament so that Icelandic women will be voting equally with men in 1913?

DO YOU KNOW that unmarried women who pay taxes have had the municipal franchise in Sweden since 1862, that all women who pay taxes now have the municipal franchise, that in 1909 a bill to extend the full franchise to all women passed the Second Chamber of the Swedish Parliament without a dissenting voice and that early in the present year (1912) both the King and the Premier announced that a full woman suffrage bill would be introduced into this session and pushed with all the facilities of the government, so that almost undoubtedly Swedish women will be voting on the same terms as men in 1913?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Denmark vote in all municipal elections upon the same terms as men, that ever

since the right was extended to them in 1908 women have been sitting in the city councils, and that a bill giving them full suffrage has passed the Lower House of the Danish Parliament and will, according to all indications, pass the Upper House in the near future?

DO YOU KNOW that in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales women vote in all elections except for members of Parliament; that in England women are eligible and have been elected to office as mayors and members of city and county councils; that in Ireland and Scotland they are eligible to city and county councils; and that on the Isle of Man women who pay rent or taxes have the full suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW that in all the provinces of Canada unmarried women who must pay taxes—and in some, married women as well—have had some form of school or municipal franchise for twenty years?

DO YOU KNOW that a committee of the Commission on Universal Suffrage of

the French Chamber of Deputies in 1910 made a report recommending the extension of the full franchise to women as rapidly as might be deemed feasible and asking that the municipal franchise be granted immediately?

DO YOU KNOW that the Spanish Parliament has proposed to give to women heads of families in the villages a vote for mayor and city council, that the new constitution of Siam gives women the municipal vote, that a bill to give suffrage to women was, in 1911, introduced into the Persian Parliament, that the Chinese revolutionaries incorporated a woman suffrage plank in their platform, that there is not a civilized country in the world where the question of votes for women is not receiving some measure of governmental attention?

DO YOU KNOW that in our own country women have been voting on the same terms as men in Wyoming since 1869, in Colorado since 1893, in Utah and Idaho since 1896; that in 1910 the state of Washington voted three to one to extend the full suffrage to women; that in 1911, California

doubled the number of voting women in this country by giving the full suffrage to more than half a million women citizens?

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women have got the vote they have used it in large numbers—larger, frequently, than the men of the same city, state or country; that in the first election after the New Zealand women were given the franchise, seventy-eight per cent of the women voted as opposed to sixty-nine per cent of the men, while in subsequent elections the proportion of both men and women voting steadily rose until now it is about eighty per cent of the qualified persons of both sexes; that in the equal suffrage states of our own country from seventy per cent to eighty-five per cent of the women vote, whereas in most states of the Union only sixty per cent to sixty-five per cent of the qualified men voters actually cast their ballots; that in some of the equal suffrage states almost half the vote is cast by women although they do not nearly constitute half the population; that in the first elections after the Washington women were enfranchised, women's votes secured the recall of corrupt

city governments in Seattle and Tacoma; that in the first election after the women of California were enfranchised, taking place in Los Angeles in 1911, ninety-five per cent of the women voted, outnumbering the men voters in almost every ward.

DO YOU KNOW that, on the other hand, large numbers of men are utterly indifferent to their rights as voters; that in the presidential election of 1908 the total vote cast was only 14,888,442 while the number of men eligible to vote was fully 22,000,000; that in the presidential election of 1904 the total vote was only 13,961,560 while the total number of men eligible to vote was 21,000,000?

DO YOU KNOW, moreover, that in every state and country where the franchise has been extended to women, the vote of the men has steadily risen; that, for instance, in the first municipal elections in which women voted, taking place in 1901, only 45 per cent of the eligible men voted, whereas in 1904, 50 per cent, and in 1910, 54 per cent of the men eligible voted; that in Australia in the first elections in which women voted, taking

place in 1903, 53 per cent of the men eligible cast their ballots, whereas, in 1906, 56 per cent, and in 1901, 67 per cent cast their ballots; and that in our own country the vote of the men is larger in the equal suffrage states than in most of those in which women are unenfranchised?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the franchise to women actually increases the proportion of intelligent voters; that there is now and has been for years, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, one-third more girls in the high schools of the country than boys; and that, according to the last census, the illiterate men of the country greatly outnumber the illiterate women?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the suffrage to women increases the moral vote; that in all states and countries that have adopted equal suffrage the vote of the disreputable women is practically negligible, the slum wards of cities invariably having the lightest woman vote and the respectable residence wards the heaviest; that only one

out of every twenty criminals are women; that women constitute a minority of drunkards and petty misdemeanants; that for every prostitute there are at least two men responsible for her immorality; that in all the factors that tend to handicap the progress of society, women form a minority, whereas in churches, schools and all organizations working for the uplift of humanity, women are a majority?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the suffrage to women increases the number of native-born voters; that for every one hundred foreign white women immigrants coming to this country there are 129 men, while among Asiatic immigrants the men outnumber the women two to one, according to the figures of the census of 1910?

DO YOU KNOW that there are in the United States about 8,000,000 women in gainful occupations outside the home who need the protection of the ballot to regulate the conditions under which they must labor; and that the efforts of working women to regulate these conditions without the ballot have been practically unavailing?

DO YOU KNOW that the laws of many states discriminate unjustly against women; that, for instance, in only sixteen is a mother equal guardian with the father over her own children; that for fifty-five years the women of Massachusetts worked for an equal guardianship law and then succeeded in getting it only when a dreadful tragedy had shocked the public into a realization of the injustice of the old law, whereas in Colorado women had themselves made equal guardians with the fathers over their children in the very next year following their enfranchisement?

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women, the traditional housekeepers of the world, have been given a voice in the government, public housekeeping has been materially improved by an increased attention to questions of pure food, pure water supply, sanitation, housing, public health and morals, child welfare and education?

DO YOU KNOW that the movement for woman suffrage is just a part of the eternal forward march of the human race toward a complete democracy; that in the American colonies only a very small pro-

portion of the men could vote; that even after the revolution only property-holders could vote; that it was only by slow and hard-fought stages that all men finally won the right to vote; and that in most foreign countries the franchise for men is still heavily loaded with restrictions?

DO YOU KNOW that the legislatures of some of the suffrage states, the Australian Parliament, and numbers of the most representative people, both men and women, in all the suffrage states and countries have testified time and again in print and over their own signatures, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which its opponents fear, but has, instead, been productive of much positive good; that it has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, rendered homes happier, ennobled men and dignified politics; that in all the places where women vote, the opponents, thus far, have not been able to find a dozen respectable men to assert, over their own names and addresses, that it has had any bad results; that more than five hundred organizations—state, national and in-

ternational other than woman suffrage associations, aggregating approximately a membership of over 36,000,000, have officially endoresd woman suffrage since its present remarkable advance in 1904.

DO YOU KNOW one single sound, logical reason why the intelligence and individuality of women should not entitle them to the rights and privileges of self-government?

A Common-Sense View of Woman Suffrage

By JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

"Women's sphere is the Home."

That worthy sentiment has been echoed so often that by this time it is apt to provoke a smile—not the sentiment so much as the reiteration of it, especially when given forth with that complacent air of originality which usually accompanies platitudes. But like most "bromidioms" it contains a certain amount of truth or else it would not have lasted long enough to become a bromidiom.

To be sure, of three hundred trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four of them. Whether we approve of it or not, one woman out of every seven gains a livelihood by some other means than marriage. Nevertheless, no matter how much woman "invades" man's "sphere," man is not likely to invade her peculiar

sphere. Bearing children may not be the the only thing she can do, but from the point of view of the race, it is the most important thing any one can do. Whether we rhapsodize over the beauty and sacredness of motherhood or appraise that function coolly from the point of view of science, in either case the rearing of children will center about the sex which bears them, so long as we have the institution of the family. And so long as we have the institution of the home it will remain the specialty of woman rather than man.

All the arguments for woman suffrage which are worth considering must cluster about this axiomatic truth.

Also all arguments against woman suffrage.

I

"I am just an old-fashioned wife."—
—A bride in a new fashioned apartment house.

The old-fashioned wife did not clamor for the vote. Why not?

Well, for one thing, she had a great many other matters on her mind. In addition to bearing about a dozen children, and rearing as many of them as did not die, she had to spin and weave and make soap. Either with her own hands, or as forewoman of an establishment as complex, if not as vast, as a

modern department store, she was an active factor—and a creative factor—in nearly everything required for the home, from the curing of hams and children to the cooking of hams and the educating of the children.

Her husband produced the raw materials; she turned them into finished products. She was his helpmeet in a very literal and practical way. Perhaps they were not invariably so happy and contented with each other as sentimentalists would have us believe, but at any rate, owing to old-fashioned conditions it was possible for them to take more than an objective interest in each other's occupations. They worked together, they complemented each other's efforts; they understood each other's jobs; and the home was a self-sufficient, self-sustaining unit in a way and to an extent that is impossible in modern times.

In modern times the home may and should be just as important spiritually, but economically it is not a unit at all. It cannot be. In the industrial sense, the home is going out of the house. Spinning-wheels are now quaint articles of bric-a-brac, which cost a good deal and gather dust. Even spinsters can no longer pursue the calling which won them that epithet. It does not pay to make soap or brew simples of herbs. Be-

sides, the neighbors would complain of the odor. The children can be better educated by experts trained for that purpose at schools outside of the home. Wives do not, cannot, except in rare cases, keep up an active, practical partnership in their husband's occupations.

In other words, nearly all the old-fashioned, orthodox opportunities for efficient motherhood, for complete wifehood, except the most elementary, have gone out of the house. And they have gone out to stay. More of them keep on going out as the years roll on. We may not like the idea, but we can no more bring them back into the house than the home-made tallow dips which once illuminated it, rather dimly.

"Do you want the ballot?"
"Oh, no! I have a baby."

What is to be done about it? Well, we might as well make the best of it. It is still woman's duty and pleasure to look after the home, if it is man's duty and pleasure to pay for it. And if the modern woman cannot attend to her old-fashioned job in the old-fashioned way then she will simply have to do it in a new-fashioned way, or else skimp her job.

Since milk now comes in bottles from

some place miles away, a good housekeeper must at least see that it is good milk, free from typhoid germs. If not, some one else will have to attend to this duty for her.

Since the children are now taught at schools instead of at her knee, a devoted mother must at least see to those schools, their methods, their sanitation, their playgrounds. If not, some one else must perform this old-fashioned duty for her.

Since the modern husband no longer follows his trade in the home, a good wife must at least keep in intelligent touch with man's world—if, that is, she proposes to be an inspiring helpmeet after she ceases to be an alluring bride. If not, somebody else may become his inspiration.

All this, of course, goes without saying. It is axiomatic. It is like declaring vociferously that woman's sphere is the home.

Now, as a matter of fact, the average modern woman is willing and anxious to be a good wife, a devoted mother. She is feverishly anxious. It seems to be a fad nowadays, especially among my sex and my profession, to decry the modern woman as a frivolous loafer. There never was a time when mothers took such intelligent care of their babies.

There never was a time when wives pondered more seriously the problems of wifehood. Their critics are making the stupid mistake of blaming individuals for conditions which they cannot control. On the contrary, the conditions control the individual. And conditions have changed so fast that modern woman is bewildered. She has not found herself.

How is she to follow and fill her sphere, now that it has broken out of the house? How is she to regain these orthodox functions, many of which have slipped from her grasp without her knowledge and consent? Directly or indirectly all these traditional responsibilities are now shaped and determined not by each separate family group, but by all the families together—in other words, by the government. The government is controlled by politicians. Politicians are controlled by the ballot.

"It would destroy the home."

To say that woman should not vote is simply to say that she should not be entrusted with what have always been her natural responsibilities. It is simply to say that we should not let her have the authority necessary to put through the work which we nevertheless turn over to her, and for which we nevertheless hold

her accountable. In fine, that her sphere is no longer the home, but merely the house.

This is not a matter of taste or of opinion; it is a matter of fact and logic. We may not fancy the notion of women voting—that *is* a matter of taste; and whether she is fitted for the vote is a matter of opinion. The present point is that if she is to do her old-fashioned share of the work of the world, merely as a homemaker and a housekeeper, the ballot is becoming as necessary now as the broom was once. Even to have a clean house it is necessary to have clean streets. To have clean streets it is necessary to elect a clean mayor. The same may be applied to schools and school-boards, health and health-boards; in fact, all government is merely housekeeping on a large scale.

For some departments of this housekeeping men may always remain better qualified than women. For other departments of it women may always remain better qualified than men. But it takes both man and woman to make a home. As Miss Jane Addams says: "Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activities, but in spite of this, so soon as these affairs were turned over to the care of the city they slipped from woman's hands,

apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise."

Now it may be that modern man is capable of attending properly to "woman's traditional activities," and his own besides—though thus far he has not proved it. It may be that modern woman is incapable of retaining her ancient share of life's responsibilities—though that has not been proved either. Meanwhile what are you going to do about it, you who believe in the "old-fashioned wife" and in home as "woman's sphere"?

II

"Women cannot go to war."

Now it was perfectly natural that these natural functions slipped out of her hands. The vote originally was given only to those who bore arms. Like education, it was not thought needful nor proper for those who bore children. Certain clergymen (who bear neither—but are educated) still urge this eloquently as an unanswerable objection to enfranchising the sex which must pay taxes it cannot regulate and obey laws it cannot make.

Such objections are valuable, for the reason that all jokes are valuable, but as arguments they are hardly worth an-

swering. Besides, minds which still hold fast to such ideas are closed like horse-chestnuts—hard to open and hardly worth while.

"It's unwomanly."

Yet at the very thought of the ballot in the tender hand of a woman, lovely woman, objections always bristle up like hairs on the back of a dog at the approach of a stranger. All new ideas are natural enemies until they prove themselves friends. It is well that such is the case. It keeps off suspicious characters. It makes good ones wait until they have shown themselves to be good. Every new idea, every improvement in civilization has had to win its way against the indifference or opposition of the majority. This is particularly true of every change in the status of woman from the time she ceased to be a beast of burden, and we decided to give her a soul and a seat at our dinner table.

It is perfectly natural that there should be objections to an idea which superficially seems so radical as even the municipal suffrage for women. To be sure, that kind of voting has already been entrusted to them throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and several other enlightened parts of the world, though only in spots in quaint America. Commercial-

ly, we are the most progressive nation in the world. In certain other ways which are also necessary for successful success we have fallen behind times.

"But women do not want the vote."

Theoretically, whether women want the vote or not has nothing to do with the matter, any more than whether they want children or homes to look after. Practically, however, that objection has everything to do with it; for until women want it badly enough to demand the vote they will not get it. It is silly, however, to look upon it as a mere privilege or added "right"; it should be regarded as a duty, an obligation, a means to an end—and that end is a "womanly" one if wifehood, motherhood and housekeeping are womanly.

Incidentally they are demanding it in greater numbers every year. When John Stuart Mill presented his petition to Parliament it was signed by only 1,499 women. That was in 1866. Thirty years later a similar appeal was made to Parliament by no less than 257,000 women. The next year there were over 1,200 different petitions in favor of a woman suffrage bill, 800 more than those presented in favor of any other bill. Since that time there has always been an over-

whelming majority of the House of Commons pledged to support woman suffrage.

In America, the movement, somewhat delayed, is spreading more quietly. The affair has not become acute. Let us hope that it can remain quiet, can avoid being "acute."

"Woman is not fitted to vote."

This is undoubtedly true of many of them—just as it is of many men. But that is not to say that the majority of each sex cannot fit themselves for voting. Women can do a great many things when they have to, as may be seen in the case of hundreds of women every year when thrown on their own resources. When we consider her handicaps, not merely her natural handicaps imposed upon her by civilization and sentiment, when we consider that for ages she has been discouraged from trying to do anything outside the "home," it is no wonder that she cannot do many things as well as man. The wonder is that she does many things as well as she does. Besides, as Miss Jane Addams says: "Those matters in which woman's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education."

"Woman suffrage would double the ignorant vote."

Nowadays we are educating more girls than boys at the high schools. Nevertheless, there would be, of course, an increase in the "ignorant vote," but in those very classes it is the women who uphold what there is of a moral standard. It is worth adding that in our penitentiaries only five and a half out of every hundred inmates are women. The rest are of the voting sex.

"It doesn't work."

To be sure, there are some women who do not utilize this prerogative where they have it, just as there are many men who are similarly derelict. But as a matter of fact and history is *has* worked, it is now working and will keep on working in all those parts of the world where it has been tried, as may be easily ascertained by any one who is willing to take the trouble to look into the records of Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Norway or any of the six States of our union where women have the full ballot.

As a single instance, the whole world has heard of Judge Lindsey's children's court. The whole world is now adopting his idea. According to Judge Lindsey himself the whole world owes this to the women voters of Denver, without whose

aid the machine would have prevented the Judge's dream from coming true. If we calculate the far-reaching effect of this one thing—which most of us can't calculate—it alone would be enough to justify woman suffrage, and even suffragettes.

"Then women would have to hold office, too."

All men can vote, but not all men hold office. Some are fitted for it and some are not. Women would either be fitted for it or not. If fitted for it, elect them. If not, don't.

"Women can do so much by indirect influence."

This is undoubtedly true. It is also true that they can do more by both direct and indirect methods more than by indirect methods alone. Ask women who have tried "indirect" methods of putting through child-labor laws, sanitary regulations, or any other reform which their husbands "hadn't time to bother with." Sweet feminine charms and pretty clothes are effective enough in the case of bills the bosses don't object to, but when it is something which clashes with the profits of the boss's bosses, practical politicians merely smirk and smile gallantly and say: "Well, I'll see what can be done for you."

That of course is a good argument for giving women the ballot. For in those States where she is still allowed to work ten and fourteen hours a day she needs the eight-hour law in order to get the ten minutes necessary to cast a ballot once a year or so.

There are two kinds of women, those who have time to play Bridge and those who have not. The former ought to vote because they have time to; the latter because they have not.

III

"Do you believe in Woman Suffrage?"
"No; I love my husband."
(*And all the bachelors beamed.*)

Most "arguments" against woman suffrage are about as absurd as these. None that I have seen, and I have searched, has logic, justice or common sense. Why, then, is there still considerable objection to it?

Because of an influence which is stronger than logic, justice or commonsense. The most potent objection to every change is always outside the realm of reason. It is sentiment. Sentiment comes from the heart, logic merely from the head—when it comes at all. In this case it is the most powerful and per-

meating sentiment in the world, the sex sentiment. The idea of women voting is distasteful to our sex-idealization. All the arguments and logic in the world cannot overcome this unless aided by a higher and healthier sex-ideal.

Our present ideal of woman, beautiful as it is in theory, has worked out in practice, owing to our change in conditions, in such a way that men and women are being put asunder by marriage instead of being joined together. In lieu of a productive helpmeet, woman is becoming a non-productive consumer. Not because she wants to be, but because she cannot help it. He and she are occupied with different interests and talk different languages. And yet we wonder why one marriage in twelve in America ends in divorce, and unite our efforts to making it harder to get apart instead of easier to keep together.

IV

"Oh, I suppose it's bound to come, but it's inexpedient now."

Woman bears children, is therefore weaker, is therefore no warrior. In that one sentence we can account for every change which has gradually, strugglingly, taken place in the status of women, from the time we generously decided to give

them souls up to this time when we are condescendingly thinking of giving them votes. The political enfranchisement of women is merely part of a greater, if less noisy movement, which has been going on since the beginning of civilization and which will not stop until mere might is no longer right. This is not a sentimental ideal, as muddle-headed people think, but a shrewd, practical principle, which inheres in the gregarious instinct, and which is applied by the wisdom of the race, step by step, when expediency prompts it.

Those who see the inevitableness of woman suffrage, those who see its ultimate expediency, are merely a little in advance of those who do not—that is all.

Why Women Want to Vote

By

FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY FEED THEIR FAMILIES PROPERLY. The preparation of food has always been woman's business, but someway or other a large part of it has got away from her. According to the reports of investigations of cellar bakeries, Chicago packing houses, canneries, biscuit factories and breakfast food establishments; and according to the revelations of Dr. Wiley with respect to the prevalence of misbranding and adulteration, it isn't getting along very well without her. Accordingly she has made up her mind to assume control once more. But the only way she can do this is through the enactment of laws. Laws are secured only through political influence and political influence is exercised only by means of the ballot. Therefore women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY CLOTHE THEIR FAMILIES PROPERLY. The making of clothing has always been woman's business, but this too has been largely taken away from her. Through her Consumers' League she learns that the ready-to-wear suits and dresses she buys for her children may be full of germs of scarlet fever, diphtheria and tuberculosis caught in the tenement home sweat shops in which they are so frequently made. She learns that numerous epidemics of children's diseases have been actually traced to this source. She learns that in clothing as well as in food there is wholesale misbranding and adulteration. She discovers—being a reader of the newspapers and magazines—that the garments marked "all wool" for which she certainly pays all wool prices, are hardly more than half wool, and that real all wool is scarcely to be had for any money—owing to a prohibitive tariff. She is just as anxious as ever to do her whole duty to her family in the matter of clothing, but here again she comes up against the fact that the processes are controllable only through legislation, and that to control legislation it is necessary to have political power. For this reason also, then, women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER THAT THEIR FAMILIES MAY BE PROPERLY HOUSED. Through countless ages the housing of the race was chiefly woman's business, but to-day men build the houses and women merely live in them. From the revelations with respect to insufficient building laws, violations of the building laws, fire-traps, lack to sanitation, building swindles and the exploitation of tenants by landlords, the home-maker of the ages has gained the impression that it is not altogether safe to leave this branch of her traditional activities to men and that she had better take back her old responsibilities. But again she finds that to do so she must work through political means. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY KEEP THEIR HOMES CLEAN. Cleaning has always been woman's business, but this too has largely passed out of her hands. Municipal water pipes and lighting and heating systems have introduced into the home problems of sanitation with which women have no means of grappling. The cleanest housewife cannot prevent her home from being defiled by a defective sewer, imperfect plumbing,

or leaky gas pipes. Nor does it avail her to sweep her floors while the streets go unswept, or to wash clothes or curtains while chimneys are permitted to belch forth black smoke, or to air her rooms while the outdoor atmosphere is laden with factory fumes. Politics control these things, and so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO SECURE THE BEST POSSIBLE EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN. The teaching of children was until recently woman's business but to-day the compulsory education law has almost wholly relieved her of it. The school has supplanted the mother's knee—and men run the schools. That they do not run them perfectly women gather from the eternal controversies over educational methods, from the frequent arraignments of the educational system, from the oft-repeated charges of mis-management and graft. Women feel their responsibilities and are anxious to shoulder them, but the schools, too, are under political control. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO SAFE-

GUARD THE HEALTH OF THEIR CHILDREN. Nobody will deny that this is woman's business. At the present time, however, it is very imperfectly administered. Men, by instituting public sanitation, health boards and provisions for the reporting and isolation of contagious diseases are actually doing more than women to protect the health of children. However, the high infant mortality due to inadequate milk inspection; the prevalence of infantile paralysis or spinal meningitis due—it is now asserted—to street dust; the frequency of cases of ptomaine poisoning from unclean meat and canned goods; the recurrence of typhoid epidemics from polluted water supplies; the frightful death rate from tuberculosis due to laxity of public officials in the matter of anti-spitting ordinances, over-crowding, and regulation of sleeping cars and other public places; the unspeakable horrors arising from public neglect of the Black Plague; and the long list of ills traceable to the easily exterminable house-fly—all show that there is still much to be done. And lately women have shown a determination to take a hand in the doing. In every one of the great public movements for the elimination of the evils just mentioned, they are now working, and, in many instances,

leading. The "school nurse", for instance, who is now to be found in most of the great cities along with the school medical inspector, is the special inspiration and exclusive creation of women. Through their efforts in these lines, however, they have learned that the most effective tool for the work they want to accomplish is the ballot. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO SAFEGUARD THE MORALS OF THEIR CHILDREN. This, indisputably, is woman's work—but what do mothers have to say about the morals of the great world outside the four walls of their homes—the world in which their children must spend most of their waking hours? What control do mothers exercise over the corner saloon, the unspeakable resort in the next street or the dance hall down town or out at the picnic grounds. These places can be regulated only by the public authorities, and the public authorities can be regulated only by the people. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER TO PROVIDE CLEAN AND HEALTHFUL RECREATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN. Once they did

not have to worry about this. All the facilities existed on the home grounds almost, if not actually, under the mother's eye. But the development of cities has changed all that. It has been said again and again by social workers that city children do not know how to play. Having only the streets, they learn to loaf or to run in gangs but they never organize those games and sports that are so essential to children's normal development. Women have seen this and have taken the first steps to remedy it. Quite unaided by men and often, indeed, in the face of actual opposition from public authorities, they have begged and borrowed and rented vacant lots in numerous communities and turned them into playgrounds, paying the cost of equipment and supervisors out of their own private pockets, or else acting as supervisors themselves. And so well have they demonstrated the necessity for public recreation centers that to-day municipal authorities generally regard playgrounds as quite legitimate institutions, even though they may not actually go to the length of establishing them. To accelerate action in this direction women feel that they must have political power, and for this reason, therefore, they want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BE-

CAUSE THEY WANT TO ABOLISH CHILD LABOR. That this is real "mother-work" no one will deny. It was three women—Jane Addams of Hull House, Lilian D. Wald of the Nurses' Settlement, and Florence Kelley of the Consumers' League—who first pointed out the need for child labor laws, and it is women, largely, who support the child labor movement to-day. And only a very little practical experience was required to show them that the demands of a voteless class have very little weight with legislatures. "We make some gains for the children by the method of petition and persuasion," writes Mrs. Kelley, "but child labor can be abolished only when the women of every state are given equal authority with the men in the political and industrial life of this Republic." And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER TO SECURE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUVENILE COURTS. Even without the vote women have done something in this line. Thanks largely to their efforts, most of the great cities have some sort of special means of dealing with delinquent children apart from adult criminals—but women are not satisfied with small gains. They are anxious to

see juvenile courts, not only in every city but in every town and village—and of a much more complete and thorough character than those already in existence. But here again political power is the requisite for really effective work. Has not Judge Lindsey said that it was the *VOTES* of women that saved the juvenile court of Denver? And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER TO ABOLISH WHITE SLAVERY. Only women can do this. White slavery is a woman's problem; men should not be required nor expected to solve it. Students of the subject are agreed that prostitution flourishes chiefly because it is the one way for an untrained girl to earn a living without the struggle and hardship that only strong characters can withstand; and that the quickest way to do away with it would be to give every girl who has to support herself congenial work at a respectable living wage. This will never be done, however, as long as men exclusively control the labor market; and here, as everywhere else politics enters in. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO SECURE DECENT WORKING CONDITIONS

FOR WOMEN. Once all women, practically, worked in their own homes, and there they were able to determine the hours and conditions under which they had to labor. Now, however, over 8,000,000 women are working outside their homes, and they have nothing whatever to say as to how long, under what conditions or upon what terms they shall work. And everybody who reads the newspapers and magazines knows something about what these women workers have to put up with. Leisure women have tackled the problem in their clubs and Consumers' Leagues and working women and leisure women together have ameliorated some of the worst evils through their Women's Trade Union League; but what they have all come to in the end is the conviction that since improvement of industrial conditions is secured and securable only by law, women will never receive fair treatment in the industrial world until they hold political power equally with men. And so for this reason women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE IN ORDER TO ABOLISH LEGAL DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST WOMEN.

Most people have an idea that while women may still be unjustly treated by the law in

foreign countries, her rights are fully safeguarded in progressive America. Few realize, for instance, that in only sixteen states of the Union are women equal guardians with the father over their own children, and that in Louisiana women are still living practically under the notoriously unfair conditions of the Code Napoleon. Some of the worst of these discriminations, women have succeeded in getting removed through the method of persuasion; but the process has been slow and unsatisfactory. For instance, it took fifty years of unremitting effort on the part of the women of Massachusetts, capped by a terrible tragedy, to get the equal guardianship measure that the women of Colorado secured the very next year after their enfranchisement. The quick and direct method is the one designed by the intelligence of the race for social protection—namely, the ballot. And for this reason, therefore, women want to vote.

WOMEN WANT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO GIVE REALLY EFFECTIVE HELP TO ALL THE GREAT MOVEMENTS FOR HUMAN ADVANCEMENT. They are as interested as men are in all that affects the good of the race—in peace and arbitration; in the conservation of natural and vital resources; in the beautification of

cities, in old age pensions, industrial insurance, and the elimination of industrial accidents; in improved methods of caring for the sick and aged; in more practical ways of administering charity; in more humane and more effective ways of treating the criminal and dependent classes; in progressive religion; in prison reform, tax reform, postal reform; in the control of the courts and of public service corporations by the people; in direct legislation, the recall, and the spread of genuine democracy. In short, women want to vote, not only because they are women and want to do the mother work of the world that has, until now, always been in their hands, but because they are human and are anxious to do their part in human work.

Measuring Up Equal Suffrage

An Authoritative Estimate of Results in Colorado

By George Creel and Judge Ben B. Lindsey

Colorado, better, perhaps, than any other State, affords and opportunity for a fair appraisal of equal suffrage's value, of its merits and demerits, its efficiency or its failure. This commonwealth is peculiarly suited for such an examination by reason of the typical Americanism that marks its people and its problems. Within its border is every hope that animates the national heart, and every menace that casts its shadow over our democratic institutions. The pioneer spirit still survives—taming mountains, harnessing torrents, bringing deserts into bloom—and side by side with hardy enterprise and unconscious idealism there are those forces of ruthless commercialism so intimately identified with modern-

ity. Against this background of characteristic conditions, the medley of courage and craft, patriotism and rapacity, honor and dishonor that is America—equal suffrage has limned itself more boldly than could have been possible in many other States.

It has been one of the great bells that has aroused Colorado to the work of flushing filth from its politics, bettering economic conditions, mitigating the cruelties of industrialism, promoting equal and exact justice, and making for a more wholesome and expansive environment. To these ends, in the short space of seventeen years, it has aided in placing a score of needed laws on the statute books. It has raised new standards of public service, of political morality and of official honesty. It has helped to lift the curse of corporation control from the government. It has gone far to bit and bridle the lawless "liquor interests." It has made for a fuller, finer participation in public affairs, and by the introduction of a distinctly independent element into partisan politics, it has compelled the adoption of progressive platforms and the nomination of better

candidates than the "old way" ever knew.

If the reform were pinned down to a specific result, and discussion limited to one concrete outcome, equal suffrage could well afford to rest its case on the findings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This globe-circling organization of men and women, who play important parts in the public affairs of their various countries, is on record as declaring that "Colorado has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world." And of these laws which drew such praise from impartial sociologists, not one but has come into operation since Colorado's adoption of equal suffrage in 1893; not one but owes either its inception or its success to the voting woman. Even in those cases where the law was not originated, not specifically championed by them, they elected the official responsible for the law, and whose candidacy had its base in revolt and reform.

The list is as long as splendid; laws establishing a State home for dependent children, three of the five members of the board to be women; making mothers

joint guardians of their children with the fathers; raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen years; creating juvenile courts; making education compulsory for all children between the ages of eight and sixteen, except the ailing, those taught at home, those over fourteen who have completed the eighth grade, those who support themselves, or whose parents need their help and support; establishing truant or parental schools; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten; making it a criminal offense for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children; forbidding children of sixteen or under to work more than eight hours a day in any mill, factory or store or in any other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful; requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors be women; establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the Board of Control to be women, including instruction concerning the humane treatment of animals in the public school course; providing that any person employing a child under fourteen in any

mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to fine; abolishing the binding out of industrial home girls until twenty-one, and providing for parole; forbidding prosecuting and arresting officers from collecting fees in cases against children; providing that at least two thousand dollars of the estate of a deceased parent shall be paid to the child before creditors' claims are satisfied.

These laws, directly concerned with the welfare of the child, are supplemented by the following safeguards thrown about motherhood, the home, and general sociological conditions:

Laws making father and mother joint heirs of deceased children; requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of household goods used by the family, or conveyance or mortgage of homestead; making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents; providing that no woman shall work more than eight hours a day at labor requiring her to be on her feet; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asy-

lum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded, for their free maintenance, and for the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State Board of Charities; making the Colorado Humane Society a State Bureau of child and animal protection; enforcing pure-food inspection in harmony with the national law; providing that foreign life or accident insurance companies, when sued, must pay the costs; establishing a State Traveling Library Commission to consist of five women from the State Federation of Women's Clubs; and making it a criminal offense to fail, refuse or neglect to provide food, clothing, shelter and care in case of sickness of wife or minor child.

The woman voter has boldly and intelligently dealt with the "criminal problem," the "labor problem," and the "suffrage problem." Not only has the "indeterminate sentence" been written on the statute books, and probation laws of greatest latitude adopted, but women serving on the penitentiary and reform school boards have practically revolutionized the conduct of penal institutions in Colorado. Broken men are *mended*

now, not further cowed and crushed. A State Free Employment Bureau, with offices in all Colorado cities of more than twenty-five thousand, has worked wonders, and the bitter cry of the unemployed is less and less heard; and women have largely engineered the effective campaign in favor of direct legislation, and have been almost solidly behind the fight for the initiative and referendum, and direct primary, and the commission form of government.

At the last Denver election, held May 27, 1910, both Republican and Democratic parties were compelled to recognize the popular demand, and present charter amendments providing for the initiative, referendum, recall and a water commission. But, under the control of public service corporations, and practically financed by the water monopoly, which was asking for a new franchise, "fake" amendments were framed by the old parties. Skilful indeed was the wording—every amendment "looked good"—yet not one but had a "joker" in it. At the last moment a Citizens' Party took the field, women behind it and a woman on the ticket. Real initiative,

referendum and recall amendments were prepared, and a distinguished water commission named with power to either buy the water company's plant at a fixed figure, or build a new one

Against both organizations, corporation money, and every professional politician and party henchman, the Citizens' ticket won an overwhelming victory. Denver now possesses the initiative, referendum and recall; and by virtue of a bond issue carried September 6, 1910, Denver will build its own water plant, and be forever freed from as arrogant and rapacious a monopoly as ever cursed a community.

And the women voters *led!*

Equal suffrage has been one of the great first causes of these laws, reforms and revolt. Surely, in the face of such results, fair-minded people must be shown a tremendous counterbalancing of injury and evil before they can justly condemn the movement. And what is it that the anti-equal-suffragists chiefly urge? That *"It destroys the home."*

Since it is admittedly the case that equal suffrage has safeguarded the home by scientific laws, and sweetened and

bettered communal conditions directly bearing upon the home, this charge must be regarded as specifically leveled at the women in the home. In fact, the more blackguardly critics have not hesitated to declare that "the character of the Colorado woman is steadily deteriorating under the influence of the ballot."

It is, of course, a charge that defies detailed disproof. To those who have visited Colorado, admired the conjunction of taste and care that marks the Colorado home, and rejoiced in the intelligence and refinement of the State's womanhood, the slander is at once apparent. To others the only thing that can be offered is a flat denial from every Colorado man.

Why, in the name of reason, should the mere fact of voting work deterioration in any woman? It does not take any mother, "away from her home duties" to spend ten minutes going to the polls, casting her vote, and returning to the bosom of her family, but during those ten minutes she wields a power that is doing more to protect her home, and all other homes, than any other possible influence.

Just as all the laws passed by the women significantly concern the home and its environment, just so does participation in public affairs seem to have given Colorado women a deeper, more intelligent and energetic interest in their homes. By the legal establishment and recognition of woman's citizenship, the intellect and character and reciprocal estimation of both sexes has been raised. The possession of the ballot has given women an interest in general as well as political affairs, and this has naturally stimulated the men. Instead of the old perfunctory chit-chat of the average domestic circle—the relation of personal doings and gossip as the base of conjugal conversation—there has been an injection of ideas, the dawning of an intelligent and more intimate companionship. The woman, instead of being shut off from her husband's larger thoughts and outside interests, now shares in them, and even where the partnership is not particularly illuminative, it is certainly an improvement.

What statistics there are all fail to show that the home broadening has been attended by "coarsening and deteriora-

tion." The Colorado birth-rate has increased steadily, and the school population has gained twenty-five per cent. in five years. The most careful investigation of court records proves that there has never been a divorce where the wife's political activity was assigned as the cause. The United States reports show fewer women in the wage-earning class in Colorado than there are in any other State and a higher average of wages for both men and women. The average yearly male earnings in the United States are $513, and the average yearly female earnings $213, yet Colorado shows an average of $638 for men, $554 for women.

In this connection it is fair to consider club life, which plays an important part in the feminine activities of every town and city in the land. Under equal suffrage, the woman's club has undergone a startling transformation. Instead of being confined to the old innocuous topics, the impracticalities of "culture" and "near thought," these organizations, stripped of their inutility, now aim at specific purposes and achieve useful ends. The deliberations cover such subjects as

educational problems, local option; joint property, election reforms, direct legislation, pure food, domestic science, the proper conduct of city, county and State institutions, sociology, and all manner of political and industrial reforms.

In addition to the "culture clubs" that have been given breadth and purpose, there are women's political clubs in almost every town in the State, not for the securement of offices, but for intelligent study of measures, conditions and remedies. Legislators and public men have come to regard it as a privilege to appear before these organizations. And when this permision is granted, it is not in the interests of candidacies or schemes, but out of a desire to get a clearer understanding of some pending or proposed measure. Contrary to the general belief, women have proved notoriously slow in giving their approval and support, but, once committed, their enthusiasm knows no bounds.

Against this open and publicly-exerted influence of the voting woman, the "silent influence" preached by the anti-suffragist makes a most sorry showing. Before Colorado women had the fran-

chise, they vainly used the great "silent influence" in an effort to have kindergartens made part of the public-school system. After the adoption of equal suffrage, they forced the reform within a year.

Massachusetts, where the women "keep their place in the home," and depend entirely upon "silent influence," worked fifty-five years getting one little law making the mother equal guardian of minor children with the father. Colorado women received suffrage in 1893, and in 1894 they put this law on the statute books.

The fact that comparatively few women have been elevated to high official position in Colorado is entirely traceable to the voting woman's own initial desire. After equal suffrage had been granted them in 1893, there was a tacit agreement, a sort of "unwritten law," that women should not rush into office-seeking. The attitude proceeded from two causes.

In the first place, equal suffrage came to Colorado in peace and perfect amity. There were no marching, lurid banners, "freak" appeals, brutal arrests or hys-

teria. The pioneers, by virtue of that freedom from conservatism won by life in the open, gave the ballot because they deemed it their duty and woman's right. As far back as 1870, Territorial Governor Edward McCook embodied these words in a message to the Legislature: "Our higher civilization has recognized woman's equality with man in all other respects save one—equal suffrage. It has been said that no great reform has ever been made without passing through three stages—ridicule, argument and adoption. It rests with you to say whether Colorado will accept this reform in its first stage, as our sister Territory of Wyoming has done, or in the last; whether she will be a leader in the movement or a follower; for the logic of a progressive civilization leads to the inevitable result of an equal suffrage."

The measure did not become a law until 1893, but while there was vigorous championship in the meantime, advocacy was purely argumentative, and entirely unmarked by violent agitation. Equal suffrage's majority was six thousand. And research disclosed these reasons as chiefly contributory to the victory: that

women are equally subject to the law; that the denial of justice to half the human race would be a detriment to the whole, as experience has proved that under a partially representative government the lives and interests of the unrepresented always suffer; that it was peculiarly the province of the woman to look after the home, and that the modern home could not be thoroughly looked after except through the law; that men alone were as unfit to legislate for women as women alone would be unfit to legislate for men; that it was both insulting and degrading to continue the classification of women with "Indians, idiots, lunatics and paupers."

This fairness on the part of the men, combined with an absence of "suffragetting," brought Colorado women into the new order without bitterness, resentment, or the fanatical zeal that brutal opposition always kindles. As a consequence, they were content with the ballot, speedily engrossed in its good use, and entirely disregardful of office.

But while there has been no office-seeking, women have not shirked responsibility. When the masculine mind came

to the conclusion that educational matters called for feminine supervision, the women responded, and have invariably made splendid records. Since 1894 both parties have nominated women for the office of State superintendent of public instruction, and out of the sixty county superintendents of schools in Colorado, forty are women. Quite a number of women have held, and are holding, important municipal and county offices; some ten odd have sat in the Legislature; four women worked masterfully on a Denver charter board, and all the State boards have women members who are a credit to the State.

There is now apparent, however, a new feeling among Colorado women—a growing conviction that this policy of aloofness is not fair to equal suffrage and the State. While they do not share Dr. Lyman Abbott's view—that women should not have the ballot because they will not serve as policemen, soldiers and firemen—the Colorado woman is commencing to feel that a larger measure of responsibility is required of her. As a result, greater recognition is being demanded of the Democratic and Republi-

can parties, and high offices, particularly suited to women, are being "marked down" for securement.

The movement can not be quarreled with by any fair-minded man. Not only have the women proved ability, energy and integrity in the conduct of the States' educational affairs, but their participation in political campaigns has been characterized by everything that points to proper official grasp. It is regrettable that a Colorado women's political meeting can not be staged and carted about the country as an educational exhibit, for it would be a veritable "eye-opener." Equal suffrage has developed some notable speakers and debaters among the women, and it is an intellectual treat to hear the political addresses of such gentlewomen as Mrs. Helen Grenfell, Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, Miss Gail Laughlin, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Miss Ellis Meredith and a score of others.

As a matter of fact, absolute honesty forces the confession that the average women's political meeting is far finer, more effective and inspiring than those held by men. The proud male, accus-

tomed to long-winded harangues full of brag, bluster and abuse—pompous orations without terminal facilities—and political Juliets who speak and yet say nothing—suffers actual humiliation when he sees woman after woman get up, say her say concisely, intelligently, earnestly—every word counting—and sit down after a fifteen-minute speech in which she has said more than the usual campaign speaker says in two hours.

It is also to be wished that a Colorado election day could be taken on tour. If "tourist critics" are to be believed, and credence given the anonymous liars that "stuff" the Eastern press, the Colorado election is a rare combination of Moulin Rouge orgy and Western dance-hall scene. It is a shame to spoil so colorful an illusion, but truth compels the humiliating admission that election day in Colorado is marked by the most absolute matter-of-factness, the very quintessence of normality. Excited by accounts of the doings of English "suffragettes," and keyed to high expectation by lurid slanders, the visitor comes primed for something beyond the ordinary, and is pained and disappointed to find no de-

parture from the usual. The day, except for an entire lack of drunkenness and disorder, is not one whit different from election days in States where only male suffrage obtains.

Mrs. Helen Grenfell, three times elected State superintendent of public instruction, has made three campaigns through the State, visiting every county, and may properly be regarded as an expert witness. "In seventeen years' exercise of the franchise," Mrs. Grenfell testifies, "I have yet to see an intoxicated man, to hear an oath, or see discourteous action toward any woman at the polling places, although informed that in rare instances, such things have occurred in a few of the less desirable localities."

It is not the Colorado custom for women to electioneer, but even in those cases where they remain about the polling places, distributing literature or cards, dignity is rarely laid aside and even the familiarities of persuasiveness are not employed. There is an unwritten law among them that forbids this sort of thing, and the woman who wishes to play an important part in politics must care-

fully guard against the disapproval of her sex.

This, of course, applies to the residence wards and the average family woman. The ballot does not endow the unskilled laborer's ignorant wife with the manners of a Vere de Vere, nor lift the prostitute above her shame. And in this connection, let the vote of the "red light" district be considered. For if the word of slander is to be taken, Colorado elections are controlled by the "immoral vote," and every election day affords opportunity for prostitution's triumph.

This is a charge that is easily made, and one that is very effective with many worthy people, for bare mention of the social evil excites a certain repnugnance that is opposed to fair consideration. It has the terror of the leper's bell, the horror of things unclean. But, in leveling the charge, one or two assumptions must be made. Either there are more prostitutes than decent women in Colorado, or else the prostitutes vote and the decent women do not. Honest inquiry, however, meets with few difficulties. In Colorado prostitution is confined to its four or five cities, and only exists in the

balance of the State as a wind-blown evil that follows the rise and fall of mining camps.

Denver, as the largest city in the State, contains the largest number of prostitutes. In considering Denver then, the anti-equal-suffragist would seem to have the fairest chance of proving his contention, while the equal-suffragist might well claim unfairness in taking the metropolis instead of the average town. But what do the figures show?

Chief of Police Armstrong puts the number of professional prostitutes in Denver at five hundred, and establishes the "red-light district" as Precincts, 1, 2 and 3 in the Fourth Ward. The board of election commissioners furnishes these figures on female registration and voting in those precincts:

	Registered	Voted
Precinct 1.....	54	46
Precinct 2.....	61	53
Precinct 3.....	61	45
	176	144

The commissioners, by reason of facts stated on the registration books, advise that ten per cent. of this number be con-

sidered as respectable women—wives of unskilled laborers, etc. Deducting this ten per cent., the total Denver registration of prostitutes at the last election was 159, with only 130 voting.

A little intelligent thought will quickly prove that the professional prostitute does not *want* to vote. In nine cases out of ten, she plies her unhappy trade under an assumed name, and the exercise of the suffrage right forces her into the open and entails admissions she would fain conceal. The class is, of course, under the thumb of the police, and there have been campaigns when certain "City Hall machines" did drag the unfortunate creatures to the polls. But public sentiment has declared against this so furiously, that the practise has entirely ceased. A political party in Colorado could not invite surer doom than by herding the "immoral vote" to the polls.

But even did the whole 500 vote instead of 130, and cast their ballots solidly at some behest, how could it possibly have effect? At the last election almost 30,000 women voted in Denver. What are 500 votes compared to this number? And yet the lie that the "immoral vote"

swings Colorado elections has had weight in the land, and is even the occasion of head-wagging among the uninformed, easily impressed in Colorado itself.

And now for that other assumption--the inference that the "good women" do not vote, and do not "want to vote." The following figures are furnished by Denver in the election of 1908:

	Women	Men
Registered	35,620	41,540
Voted	29,084	36,891
Not Voting	6,536	4,649

Reliable statistics with regard to voting are not obtainable, but such figures as are at hand prove that the percentage of women who register is larger than that of men. But, returning to Denver, the election commissioners furnish these figures, taken from the last general election:

		Men		Women	
Prec.	Ward	Reg.	Voted	Reg.	Voted
14	8	369	300	348	299
7	10	176	141	203	176
1	15	262	221	267	244
Total		807	662	818	719

In explanation, Precinct 14, Eighth Ward, is well-to-do residence district with a large percentage of professional people; Precinct 7, Tenth Ward, is a wealthy, fashinable neighborhood, and Precinct 1, Fifteenth Ward, is an average section in a working-class district. So it may be seen that women of all classes do vote, and are availing themselves of the suffrage right. Statistics compiled for the last ten years show that from thirty-two to forty-eight per cent. of Colorado's vote is cast by women—a remarkable record when it is considered that women constitute forty-five per cent. of the population.

And, another item of interest and importance, the percentage of registration to voting population runs higher in Colorado than in any other State. Feminine interest in public affairs has forced a keener activity on the part of men; for what head of the family would let his women folk outdo him in something that has long been considered a purely masculine prerogative? Colorado even proportionately furnishes no such figures as Boston, where 40,000 men failed to vote at one election.

There has always been outcry against the "apathy and indifference" of the man voter, and the history of male suffrage is thick with stupidities, crimes and ignorances. Why, then, is it fair to demand that women straightway vote in enthusiasm, with superhuman intelligence and unerring honesty? And yet, even though the most rigid tests be applied, what fair man can deny that the seventeen years' record of equal suffrage in Colorado has not been its ample justification?

This record is never considered by those who are fighting to prevent equal suffrage in other States. Disregardful of facts and figures, prejudiced scribblers have rushed roughshod over honor, honesty and decency in a furious effort to show that equal suffrage has proved a failure in Colorado. Only the people of the State can fully appreciate the extremes to which irresponsibility, falsity and scurrility have been carried by venal writers and speakers.

Articles printed as thoughful contributions to equal suffrage discussion have been written without investigation; and a certain tirade which appeared

in a reputable magazine, had its fount of information in the lowest and most discredited element in Colorado's political life. One woman spent two whole days in Denver, and three whole days in Colorado Springs, devoting every minute to accepted social attentions, and yet her article purported to be an exhaustive consideration of cities, towns, hamlets, all kinds of people and every condition of life.

It is not that the women resent inquiry into the workings of equal suffrage, or are supersensitive in the matter of criticism. On the contrary, they welcome study and investigation, feeling that the movement can have no greater recommendation than impartial investigation, no greater benefit than intelligent suggestion. They are perfectly willing to have the country put away hopes and fears, passions and irrationalisms, and consider facts from which equal suffrage's true value can be argued with mathematical certainty. But they do demand that such investigations be made in the honesty and dispassion that govern all important experiments. And as they are satisfied

to be judged by the record made in seventeen years, so are they insistent that attack proceed along the lines of this record. They are sick and hurt and tired of being made the butt of blackguardism and irresponsibility, of stupidities and prejudices when the essential facts suffer no concealment, but stand simple as sums in addition and subtraction.

Man's conservatism, which is really another name for sex antagonism—the thing that makes the first year of married life so difficult—is usually blamed for the opposition to equal suffrage. But is that the real reason? Does not the persistence of attack—its remarkable organization and extreme bitterness—argue a more subtle and sinister cause.

Almost every woman, no matter what her mind and manners, is constitutionally opposed to the liquor traffic. She hates the saloon, and fears its menace to her home and men folk.

And every woman has keener economic perceptions than the man. Pennies have importance in the eyes of the housewife. No man is attracted by re-

ductions of two, three and four cents, but the bargain sale is a lure that few women can resist. When radicals explain that a five-cent carfare is too much; that the gas rate is ten cents too high; that the telephone bill should be cut down; that the increased cost of living is due to the railroads and express companies, the man impatiently refuses to tote up the pennies that might be saved. But the woman knows no such impatience. *She adds up the pennies and gets dollars.* The call of the economist-reformer rings loud in her ears.

It was chiefly the voting woman of Denver, who defeated the renewal of the water monopoly's franchise at a recent election, and declared for municipal ownership. It is chiefly the voting woman of Colorado who is demanding inquiry into telephone, gas and street-car charges.

Under male suffrage there were three "dry" towns in the State of Colorado. Under equal suffrage a local-option law was put on the statute books, and there are now fifty "dry" towns and twelve "dry" counties. And

it may also be mentioned that Denver is one of the few cities in the land that has no saloon-keepers in its council.

The liquor interests hate the voting woman because they can not fool her out of her antagonism. The public service corporations fear the voting woman because they can not "handle" her. And who so blind as to deny the political partnership of the saloon and the franchise-grabbing corporations? These corrupt and malign influences have always worked together, and are working together now in the desperate endeavor to prevent the spread of equal suffrage. The gambler, saloon-keeper, **macquereau** and barrel-house boss—the respectable criminals who fatten on franchises and the exploitation of the people—these are the people at the bottom of the anti-suffrage agitation! **They** constitute the secret influence that is inflaming conservatism and traditional prejudices!

The honest man is not vicious in his opposition to equal suffrage. At worst it is, as has been explained, no more than a matter of sex antagonism or a survival of the feudal instinct. It it

not significant that no reputable Colorado man has yet come out in denunciation of equal suffrage? Men are in the majority in Colorado, and surely, if the Colorado man is opposed to the law, and desires its repeal, a candidate could not have a more profitable platform than the law's abolition.

As a matter of act, equal suffrage was practically resubmitted in 1901, when people voted on the proposition to strike "male" out of the constitution of the State. Equal suffrage had had an eight years' trial, and benefits were much less marked than now. Yet the proposition carried by 35,000.

Discussion of equal suffrage in other States may be governed by tradition and prejudice, but experience and practise have made the Colorado man come down to "brass tacks." Some may still retain a vague antagonism, but not one but has more sense than to advance the arguments that enjoy vogue in the East.

The chief conceded faults of women are the faults of a mind that has been cooped up, circumscribed by small household activities. The Colorado

man has come to understand that the broadening influence of equal suffrage remedies these faults, and works for their elimination.

It is claimed that woman should not have the ballot because she has shown unfitness in grappling with the "servant problem."

In Colorado the "servant problem" is recognized as a "labor problem," and what man will claim that male votes have solved it? President Taft's own answer to the request for solution was "God knows!"

The attainments of culture—these "parlor accomplishments" that are urged upon women—what are they, in the last analysis, but self-adornment? The broadening of politics is different from the broadening of culture, for the one has a social and public purpose, and the other is personal and selfish.

The Colorado man has come to the recognition of this truth, and knows that the Colorado woman has grown in strength and effectiveness without loss of essential womanliness or sacrifice of valuable traits.

Outside of the corrupt and self-seek-

ing, the vile and venal, the man can not be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage, or go back to the conditions that preceded its concession. Colorado, corporation cursed, and long a shame among the States by its mockery of representative government, is fighting hard for freedom.

And this fight, while largely a matter of general revolt, has found much of its strength in the voting woman, and is winning many of its victories because of her aid.

Additional copies of this booklet may be had from National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, New York City.

Price, 2 for $0.05; per 100, $2.00.

Postpaid, 2 for $0.06; per 100, $2.45.

Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.

JANE ADDAMS.—If woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY.—If the members of the women's clubs of the nation could vote, it would not be so difficult to secure pure food and drug legislation, nor to enforce laws properly when those were enacted. The women, above all others of our population, are intensely interested in pure foods and pure

drugs because they realize how much these things mean for the happiness and welfare of the home and for the lives and health of the children and other members of the family. If woman suffrage were not desirable for any other reason, it would be worth while to have it to have better food laws and better enforcement of those we have.

HON. WELDON B. HEYBURN, U. S. Senator from Idaho.—The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved since the adoption of woman suffrage. In particular, greater care is exercised in the selection of candidates for office.

MARK TWAIN.—If women had the ballot, they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Secretary National Child Labor Committee.—My immediate reason for favoring the enfranchisement of women is that the most serious problems of the present day are industrial, and our whole industrial system is affected by the employment of women and children. Naturally the child must be regarded as a ward of the State, because he lacks strength and experience for self-direction; but no such reason exists in the case of the woman. In my judgment, child labor will be abolished and civilized standards

of employment secured far quicker by the combined political action of men and women than by continuing to regard woman as the incompetent recipient of legislative favors. Beyond this, we cannot seriously claim to believe in the principle of popular government so long as we deny to one-half the people—possibly the more intelligent half—participation in the responsiblities of government.

HENRY GEORGE.—The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws, she ought to have a voice in making them.

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH, Governor of Colorado.—In Colorado the principle of equal rights for women is irrevocably determined. Submit the question to those who have tried it, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it.

G. W. RUSSELL, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand.—Prior to woman's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her

ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband and her present or prospective family.

BRAND WHITLOCK, Mayor of Toledo.—I have been asked why I believe in woman suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

JOHN STUART MILL.—To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions and within whatever limits men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, U. S. Senator from Oregon.—I am in thorough accord with the principles of woman suffrage and shall give my vote and whatever influence I may have in the advancement of the same whenever the opportunity presents itself.

TOM L. JOHNSON, late Mayor of Cleveland.—After all, democracy is not a matter of sex any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of

government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.—I am in favor of woman suffrage.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.—With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.

HON. JOHN W. KINGMAN, late Judge of U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming.—At our first election, before women voted, we had a perfect pandemonium. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed, and has prevailed ever since. In caucus discussions, the presence of a few ladies is worth more than a whole squad of police.

JOHN MITCHELL, Ex-President United Mine Workers of America.—I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has indorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the making of those laws, under which he or she is governed.

HON. JOHN V. JOHNSON, late Governor of Minnesota.—I have repeatedly, in public and in private, declared my belief in equal suffrage. Certainly I think there can be little room for argument that the women of the United States with their broad culture and strong sympathies are equally entitled to every

suffrage that the men of the country now enjoy.

HON. WILLIAM HODGES MANN, Governor of Virginia.—In my opinion, the women of Virginia will have equal suffrage within ten years. Evolution of the democratic form of government leads irresistibly to this logical result, and, however distasteful it may be to some, we might as well face it and prepare for its coming.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.—If we could manifest a little animation about the antique injustice that we still do to woman, perhaps we should, in time, get tired of being ruled and robbed by pirates, thieves, bosses, boodlers, millionaires, swindlers, poisoners, pickpockets, railroad senators and other criminals. But so long as we keep out of the suffrage the element that would purify it I don't know but we get about what we deserve.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.—It is a very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. * * * If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.

HON. ALVA ADAMS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—Over and above all, suffrage is woman's right, and no fair, just man will deny

her that right. While we may defend equal suffrage upon the ground of expediency, it is not a question of expediency, but of justice.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—The correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God.

HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE, Ex-Mayor of Chicago.—I am in hearty sympathy with the woman suffrage movement. I think the women of Chicago are as intelligent and as much entitled to the suffrage as are the women of Denver, which city seems entirely satisfied with the practical results of woman suffrage.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.—America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause is won.

RT. REV. WILLIAM NIELSON McVICKAR, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island.—I hope and pray that we may see this come to pass soon (the right of women to vote). In this fuller citizenship there is no chance that woman would unsex herself. I believe that the paths she would walk in would not only be brightened by her presence, but that they would be straightened.

REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, New York.—We have admitted woman's right to property and education. It is then only a question of time until we admit her right to the ballot; for by it she can best protect the one and express the other.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor.—I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

MRS. CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, Justice of the Peace.—The most important reason why women should have the right to vote is because they need the ballot for their own protection from crime, disease, starvation, ignorance and manifold other dangers.

DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN, of the University of Minnesota.—The woman suffrage movement is but part of the wider movement for democracy, which, from the intellectual point of view, means education and enlightenment for all classes and conditions of humankind, and which means, from the moral point of view, social justice.

MRS. MAUD NATHAN, President Consumers' League of New York.—My experience in investigating the conditions of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box. In the States where

women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.

HON. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, National Prison Commissioner.—Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men.

REV. THOMAS SCULLY.—The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs, and the old cry of "inopportune." So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions. The cause is just. It may be defeated to-day, but never conquered, and to-morrow it will be victorious.

HON. H. B. ANTHONY, R. I.—When we seriously attempt to show that a woman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws should have no voice in framing these laws, it is not easy.

If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.—If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot box?

HON. McKENZIE CLELAND, Judge of the Municipal Court of Chicago.—If ever there was a time when we needed the sympathetic touch of woman in our laws, it is to-day. If ever there was needed in the affairs of state that unselfish genius which has ever been the peculiar endowment of womankind, it is now. Florence Nightingale with her lamp going from cot to cot in the hospital at Scutari, bringing comfort and cheer and hope, is but a picture of woman with the ballot.

OLIVE SCHREINER.—I have never regarded the desire (now as widespread as civilization itself), that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.

PROF. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, late U. S. Commissioner of Education.—Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature

and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—In my opinion, suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.

REV. B. F. CRARY, former Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming.—Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing woman suffrage.

PROF. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, President National Consumers' League.—By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves and make certain regulations for protection; and that is politics. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.

LOUISE COLLIER WILCOX—I believe that until women win legal and political equality, civilization is and must remain practically at a standstill. No honorable and dis-

interested woman has a right to shirk any longer the moral obligation laid upon her to assume her responsibility as a citizen in the framing of public opinion and the making of the laws under which she shall live.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, Ex-Governor of Oregon.—I hope that this State will give women the ballot, and I hope that every State will do it. '

HON. LYMAN U. HUMPHREY, Ex-Governor of Kansas.—The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government.

NORMAN HAPGOOD, Editor of Collier's.—I believe the participation of women in municipal elections would be likely to result in political improvement directly by increasing the amount of attention given to fundamental moral, economic and human considerations, and thereby decreasing the rule of mere partisanship and office-seeking.

LAURA CLAY, Kentucky.—The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also.

HENRY M. TELLER, Former U. S. Senator from Colorado.—Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable, and in much that is advantageous.

HON. FRANK W. HUNT, late Ex-Governor of Idaho.—Woman suffrage in Idaho puri-

fies politics. The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

JOHN SPARGO.—In the great Empire State of the greatest republic in history, the present woman is still politically on a level with the vilest criminal and the most driveling imbecile. Woman is bound to the mound of the debris of all the ages—the debris of false conventions, outworn lies and useless labors. By a senseless servitude to useless things she is prevented from giving her offspring the intelligent care which otherwise would be possible. By ties which bind her to false ideas of sex, a cruel and vain standard of sex ethics, she is doomed to nourish blindly and ignorantly the offspring she as blindly and ignorantly bears.

MRS. SARAH PLATT DECKER, Denver.—Under equal suffrage, there is much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

DR. M. CAREY THOMAS, President of Bryn Mawr College.—I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Edu-

cated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Chicago.—Foreign women, it is argued, are not fit to have the ballot. The foreign women are usually better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is given.

RT. REV. THOMAS BOWMAN, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, New Jersey.—In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion.

HON. THOMAS W. PALMER, Former U. S. Senator from Michigan.—If we are ever going to have a state of society whose prograss shall be up and not down, I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.

CLARA BARTON.—I believe I must have been born believing in the full right of woman to all the privileges and positions which nature and justice accord to her in common with other human beings: perfectly equal rights—human rights.

LYON G. TYLER, President of William and Mary College.—I believe in sweeping away all limitations upon women and leaving to nature the determination of her proper position in society. No one denies that she is as much entitled as man to the fundamental rights—Life, Liberty and Property—and it is only logically just that she should have the means of protecting them. Prominent among these means are the right to vote and the right to hold office.

MRS. K. A. SHEPPARD, President New Zealand Council of Women.—To-day a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened is in itself an incalculable benefit.

BARONESS ALEXANDRIA GRIPENBERG.—The suffrage law of Finland gives all women over twenty-four years of age the parliamentary vote and makes them eligible on exactly the same terms as men. Ever since the step was taken the men have behaved admirably. Our male co-workers aid us and advise us in the kindest and most fraternal way.

MRS. EMILY A. FIFIELD.—Women need the ballot, because in these days of clubs and associations they are learning more about

their obligations to society, and the great burdens it has to bear. To-day the community needs the most faithful work of all women who may have any capacity whatever, and every strong woman wishes to do her full share of such work.

DR. EARL BARNES, New Jersey.—To raise the political plane of America, we must begin with the children and gradually raise the tone of the entire population. As the majority of teachers in intelligent communities are women, women should be given the right of suffrage so that they may learn just what to impart to the minds of children.

SELMA LAGERLOFF, Sweden.—Women must enter all fields; they must be on hand everywhere, if the State is ever to be beloved like the home. We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little masterwork, the home, was our creation with the help of man. The great masterwork, the State, shall be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper.

REV. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, Brooklyn.—Women have more time to read and study and are improving their time. Eventually they will vote and tell the men for whom they shall vote. Eventually all the universities will be coeducational and the women will carry off almost all the prizes.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, editor St. Louis "Mirror."—"Votes for women" is a slo-

gan that must win. It is the battle cry of a movement for the economic emancipation of the sex. All evils are curable only through freedom. A free womanhood is therefore necessary to cleanse our social and economic system.

RABBI CHARLES FLEISCHER, Boston.—We are not a democracy so long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man. Rights are not to be measured by the numbers who want them. So long as there is one woman who wants the right to vote, she is, according to the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, entitled to that right.

MRS. HELEN GILBERT ECOB.—The disreputable women, in any city of the United States, represent but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.—I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty. * * * What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Pres. International Woman Suffrage Alliance.—Some men say that they would protect women from the deterioration of voting. There is a class of women in this country who are already represented, women who are a power in government, and we who do not belong to that class ask, more than for any other reason, that we may have the right to protect and to defend and to represent at the polls the virtuous women of this country. Today, when you attack the saloon in any State of the Union you also attack the brothel; if you attack the brothel, you attack the gambling den; and it is this great triple alliance that today stands more than any other against the enfranchisement of women.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.—The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that sceptre gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent and virtuous women had the right of suffrage, our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.

RT. REV. BERNARD J. McQUAID, late Roman Catholic Bishop, Rochester, N. Y.—It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will

defy the politicians and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. —Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.

ELLEN GLASGOW. — True democracy means, if anything, neither class government nor sex government, but a government of all the people by all the people. Evolution has brought us to the recognition of the political equality of men. It is evolution, it is the law of progressive democracy that is leading us inevitably to the enfranchisement of women.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, Massachusetts.—I believe in woman suffrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.

REV. CHARLES AKED.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women.

PROF. W. I. THOMAS, of Chicago University.—I think the case for woman suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it. * * * The question is now in the condition where ways and means are beginning to be discussed rather than the general principle.

DR. MARGARET LONG, Colorado.—Women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment.

REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER.—All gatherings of women in clubs, assembles, church guilds, charitable and philanthropic organizations, mothers' conventions and so on, are measures looking to the final triumph of woman suffrage. There is no reason why every discrimination of which exists to-day against women should not be removed. Till then, humanity will never attain the highest, and the ideals which we are cherishing will never be fulfilled.

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL (for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado).—Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit

of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pres. National American Woman Suffrage Association.—Since 8,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 8,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.—Suffrage is not a mechanical thing by itself; it is the act of a citizen, and presupposes public aims. I do not plead for a mere mechanical right to put a piece of printed paper into a ballot box. I plead for this right in connection with all it implies; I plead for woman's right to become a full grown human being.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—The question as to woman's suffrage is a question of democracy. All Democrats believe in it; and whoever does not is simply not a Democrat.

RT. REV. SAMUEL K. FALLOWS, Bishop Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago.—A woman is just as well qualified to cast a vote for every municipal officer in Chicago as any man.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—It seems

to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and taxpayer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.

PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Boston.—Properly understood, suffrage does not mean the appointing of ward heelers; it means the park system, and public schools, and hospitals, and playgrounds, and public libraries. In matters of this kind we can make no distinction between men and women. To-day, to secure the best results in city government, we must have the common service of men and women.

LUTHER BURKANK, California.—There is not a greater disgrace existing in the world to-day than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our government or our institutions and have no interest in them, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.

ELIZA CALVERT HALL, Kentucky.—The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife,

the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their own views.

MRS. A. WATSON LISTER, Secretary of the Women's National Council of Australia.— One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, General Secretary New York Charity Organization Society.— For as long as I can remember I have been an advocate of the suffrage for women. What appeals to me, as a citizen, as a campaigner for social amelioration and for social justice, is the substantial value, for the advancement of all the specific causes in which I am interested, and for the solution of the problems about which I am most deeply concerned, of

the active participation of women in the tasks of citizenship. Who can doubt that all these fundamental questions, these still unsolved problems of our common life, will yield their solution more certainly and more quickly when woman's experience, her insight and point of view, her traditions and resources are brought to bear directly upon them?

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, Massachusetts.—The most compelling force in human society is now beginning to operate in conjunction with the brave spirits who so long have struggled to bring their sisters to the light; this force which even of itself will slowly overcome old habits of mind and breed a desire on the part of woman for the ballot. This is the power of economic determinism—sheer necessity. Steadily, surely, relentlessly woman is being forced into the struggle for a livelihood with every stage of industrial evolution. In every walk of life she is colliding with the facts and forces that will bring her at last to see that the ballot is imperative, if she is ever to enjoy common justice.

PROF. HENRY E. KELLY.—Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage.

HON. HUGH H. LUSK, Ex-Member of New Zealand Parliament.—The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal

suffrage is the geatest family bond and tie; the greatest strengthener of family life.

LADY HOLDER, wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.—Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.—The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.

HON. BEN. B. LINDSEY, Judge of the Denver Juvenile Court.—We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundations of the Republic. We owe this more to woman suffrage than to any other one cause.

PROF. EDWARD H. GRIGGS, New Jersey.—The ballot is an educator, and women will become more practical and more wise in using it.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL.—A limited suffrage is always subject to corrupt influences, just in proportion to its limitation. Universal suffrage for all citizens, irrespective of sex, is the power that will save the people from political and industrial serfdom.

MARY JOHNSTON, Virginia.—We have a thing called indirect influence, the indirection of which is extreme indeed. It has been claimed that we are furnished with an ancient arquebuse called "virtual representation." Virtual representation. There is no such thing in the field of law, nor, I should imagine, in any other field. The elector is directly represented by the man he sends to the legislature. An army corps "virtually represented" on the battlefield sounds somehow like something out of "Alice in Wonderland." The arm the women want is the standard one of tested efficiency. It is called the Ballot.

LADY HENRY SOMERSET.—It is said that women ought not to vote, because they do not fight. But she who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.

RT. REV. J. W. BASHFORD, Methodist Episcopal Bishop in China.—If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman.

LORD MAYOR TALLON of Dublin.—The women of Ireland, who vote in municipal elections, have suffered no loss either of dignity or domesticity.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.—We need the participation of woman in the ballot box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk

up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed up Jonah.

REV. WALTER WALSH, Dundee.—You can get at the best side of the electorate through the women being interested in the higher side of life, and voting for the things that promote it. In Scotland, where women have the municipal vote, every reformer knows that if he can get the women to understand his program, he will be stronger at the polls.

MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN, Vice-President Women's National Trade Union League.—When women organize and vote, they will get equal pay for equal work.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York City.—A certain minister says women ought not to vote because suffrage is not a natural but a derived right. So is the right of children to a common school education. So is our right to sanitary and police protection. It is not natural. Heaven did not make policemen. But who will say that girls should be shut out from school, or women from police protection because it is not a natural right?

MRS. FANNY B. AMES.—The factory girl needs the ballot for the same reason that she needs education, or any other privilege that will lift her in the scale of human beings. There is a great body of law which applies exclusively to the working girl, and regulates

her relations with her employer. She must work under these laws, but she has had no voice in making them.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS. Boston.—The change in my opinion with respect to woman suffrage is due to the result of my own experience in the various movements with which I have been connected in which we have tried to solve the social, economic and political problems that have presented themselves from time to time. As years have passed I have been more and more impressed with the difficulty and complexity of those problems, and also with the power of society to solve them; but I am convinced that for their solution we must look to the many, not to the few. We need all the people, women as well as men.

HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY, Governor of Wyoming.—It is only a question of time when the women of all the states in the Union will be voting. We have had woman suffrage on trial in Wyoming for forty-three years, and it is an unqualified success. It undoubtedly adds greatly to woman's power and opportunity for good.

HON. OLIVER W. STEWART, Illinois.—The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of the higher development of our humanity. I hope the time may never come when I can be so forgetful of the interests, rights, or liberties of any human being

as to refuse such a simple act of justice, however few the number asking for it.

LOUISA M. ALCOTT.—Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.

BARONESS ALLETTA KORFF, Finland.—In Finland over 50 per cent. of the laws introduced into the three successive Diets have concerned the welfare of children. Many have been for rendering medical aid to poor women throughout the country districts, and for instructing them in the proper care of infants; many have treated of the improvement and extension of the public school system and the care of school children; still others have dealt with special classes of children, orphans, waifs, and juvenile delinquents. The schools of domestic training are of great importance, especially in the country districts and among the poorer class of people. They are becoming most valuable factors in the cultural development of the country, and are doing more than perhaps could be done in any other way to raise the general standard of living.

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.—I do not believe that the extension of the suffrage to women is right; I know that it is right. I know it through the familiar arguments advanced by its advocates, and I know it through my own experience with the vic-

tims of a world conducted in the interests of the capitalistic male human being. When it is argued that general woman's suffrage would give power to "immoral" women, I reply that no woman has a better right to the ballot than the street-woman, because no other woman is quite so directly the victim of those governmental and industrial conditions that can be cured only by either violence or the ballot.

HON. WALTER R. STUBBS, Governor of Kansas.—I am and always have been in favor of equal suffrage. The question will be submitted to the voters of this State at the fall election of 1912, and will undoubtedly result in the full enfranchisement of the women of Kansas.

PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University.—The present world-movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that, under the influence of advancing civilization, the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is not the extension of political rights to the last disfranchised class, important as this is, that is so deeply significant in this movement, nor even the fact that this class consist of women, but the new sense of social possibilities which it betokens.

REV. DAVID GREGG.—Everybody feels

the justice of the Golden Rule. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.

REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I do not know of any unanswerable argument against woman suffrage, and I know a great many arguments in its favor. As I have seen its operation in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.

GEORGE W. CABLE.—I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy. Men are much disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote it has become a very simple question that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote, they ought to stop bearing sons.

MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable

that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. The time will come when one shall look back upon the arguments against granting the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as we now read the arguments against their education.

JOHN H. MICKEY, Ex-Governor of Nebraska.—In the Nebraska Legislature twenty-four years ago I voted "aye" on the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters of Nebraska. I have never had occasion since to change my views.

W. E. MULLEN, Attorney General of Wyoming.—Woman suffrage stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted.

PETER FINLEY DUNNE, Chicago ("Mr. Dooley").—If Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an' hang up a picture iv Niagary be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' iliction. It's no job f'r her, an' I told her so.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.—The

weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! * * * If manhood suffrage is unsatisfactory, it does not all show that woman suffrage would be. On the contrary, we might make it much better by bringing to it the feminine mind, which, in a way, complements the masculine, and so completes the mind of humanity.

GEORGE MEREDITH.—I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Until you throw open to women every avenue of employment in which they can use their faculties you will never realize the service they can render. I would give them all a vote and give it to them at once.

EMIL G. HIRSCH.—Every right goes with a duty. Women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before us the standard of righteousness, and they ought to have a vote.

HON. JOHN BURKE, Governor of North Dakota.—In my opinion, the woman suffrage movement is growing, and it is only a question of time until there will be adopted in all the States legislation granting women the right of suffrage.

MRS. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.—I believe the ballot would be a good thing for American women, especially those of the

leisure class. If it did nothing else, it would give them legitimate interests which they lack now.

HON. HENRY WALDO COE, Former U. S. Senator from Oregon.—I have a mother to whom I owe everything, and I should not think of denying her the right to vote. The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of the country takes the best interest in the home.

REV. CHARLES F. THWING, President Western Reserve University and Adelbert College.—The woman suffrage movement seems to me to be right not so much for what it is in itself as for what it effects; it is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

GEORGE C. PARDEE, Ex-Governor of California.—I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the suffrage.

HON. HIRAM JOHNSON, Governor of California.—I stand for votes for women.

HON. ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin.—I have always believed in woman suffrage to the same extent as man suffrage for the reason that the interests of men and women are not superior nor antagonistic one to the other, but are mutual and inseparable. Co-suffrage like co-

education will react, not to the special advantage of either men or women, but will result in a more enlightened, better balanced citizenship and truer democracy.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES.—Political enfranchisement would go far to quicken women's sense of social and public responsibility, and would put into their hands a mighty instrument for making their interest in reform effective.

LUCY STONE.—Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on, she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, "If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?" It is a coward's argument!

HON. OSWALD WEST, Governor of Oregon.—I am in favor of the woman suffrage movement. I think there is justice in the demand of its advocates, and in my opinion it will in time be successful in this State. I would not attempt to prophesy whether woman suffrage will be national in its scope within ten years, but I do believe that within that time many more States will have adopted it than at present.

MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.—By the year 1914 the suffrage movement will have advanced to the point where the necessary amendment to

the Constitution, urged by a monster petition of women who own property, will be passed by the legislative bodies of New York State; and when once the women of the Empire State go to the polls, the women of all the States of the Union will be given the same right.

PROF. FREDERICK D. MAURICE.—By withholding suffrage from women we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst sort. On the other hand, if the legislature frankly admitted women to the exercise of the suffrage, it would, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governments.

HON. THOMAS B. REED.—No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged are drawn almost entirely from a tender consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put

up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE.—I believe in woman suffrage, not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women.

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, Indiana.—A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself. It makes no difference whether all women want to vote, or whether most want to vote. So long as there is one woman who insists upon this simple right, the justice of man cannot afford to deny it.

REV. CHARLES F. DOLE, Massachusetts.—Politics is properly the friendly consideration of all manner of common interests, in which the women are as much concerned as the men are. Why should the State then keep up the old world barrier of political inferiority against mothers, sisters and wives? No one can give any reason, except such arguments of conservative timidity as have generally withstood eery step in the adancement of mankind.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.—We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."

LOUIS F. POST, Editor of "The Public."—To say that women are too frail to be burdened with the vote is sheer nonsense, unless it means much more than the burden of going to the polls and dropping a ballot into a box. * * * Unless it means that the voting right would impose a duty to take a vital interest in public affairs, the argument falls flat. But if this is the gist of the argument, then it is a plea for the exemption of women from taking any vital interest in public affairs; and the woman who in fact takes no interest in public affairs is unfit for mothering citizens in a democratic republic.

PROF. LUCY M. SALMON, Vassar Colllege.—College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.

W. A. JOHNSTON, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—In consequence (of woman suffrage) our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and

we have cleaner and stronger city governments.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary National Consumers' League.—Does anyone believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of affairs we should have 80,000 children on half time in the schools in New York City? Does anyone believe we should have to boil our water before we dare to drink it? It would make a vast difference in American cities if women could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot.

AMELIE RIVES TROUBETZKOY.—I have believed in the political freedom of women ever since I read John Stuart Mill on the subject over twenty years ago.

AMOS R. WELLS, Editor of the Christian Endeavor World.—Desiring to learn how the women were using their privilege in the four enfranchised States, I wrote to a number of the clergymen in those States, taking their names at random from the subscription lists of our paper. I received twenty-five replies. Four leading denominations were represented, and a goodly proportion of the writers were doctors of divinity. The answers were almost unanimously favorable to woman suffrage. I had asked whether the experiment was working well, fairly well or poorly. One gentleman in Wyoming thought it was working poorly, three in Colorado thought it was work-

ing fairly well, and all the rest were positive, and some of them enthusiastic, in their statements that it was working well.

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.—Politics govern even the purity of the milk supply. It is not "outside the home," but inside the baby.

E. W. HOCH, Ex-Governor of Kansas.—By the way, who gave man the right to decide this matter, anyhow? Why haven't women as much right to disfranchise men as men have to disfranchise women? Isn't it, as a matter of fact, a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity, when might made right, unworthy of a chivalrous, modern manhood? I believe the time is hastening when the manhood and womanhood of our land will be mutually blended in civil government as they are now beautifully blended in the highest and best type of civil government—the ideal home.

MRS. LYDIA KINGSWELL COMMANDER, New York.—I consider the ballot the best cure for race-suicide.

SAMUEL MILTON JONES, late "Golden Rule" Mayor of Toledo.—When the question is fairly put to them, I find no men who deny this proposition of the equality of the sexes. Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself? No one would expect to develop an ideal family life where the mother was regarded as inferior to the

father, where the children were taught to look upon the mother as an inferior being. Spiritual equality must be admitted before there can be perfect co-operation. As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be a just government that does not build upon this principle as its foundation stone.

PROF. R. E. MACNAGHTEN, McGILL University, Montreal, formerly of Tasmania.—Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia would agree that the concession of the vote to women has been a real benefit to the State. They have very largely declared themselves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character.

THEODORE PARKER.—I believe in the admission of woman to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as chancellors of the exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.—There is no problem upon which an intelligent woman cannot

throw some new light. In neglecting woman's help, men are blundering, not merely in what they do, but still more badly in what they do not do; in the terribly important provinces of life which they leave untouched by legislation. We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.

MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.—I believe emphatically that a woman's place is home; but where is her home? Mine is all the way from Boston to San Francisco and from Canada to the Gulf. The question is not what a woman should be allowed to do, but can she do it properly? In this reform (woman suffrage) home is the very watchword, for all the interests of the home, and all the evils that affect the home, are largely dependent upon politics. Women not only should have the power to deal with these, but they could wield it effectively.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.—I shall try my best to get women the franchise. The women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.

W. E. BORAH, U. S. Senator from Idaho.—The vote as a political potentiality is a powerful factor at all times in shaping the policies of State campaigns and in determining in some measure, although not to the same extent, the qualities of candidates. And this factor is always for the good, for whether

women may make mistakes or not in the matter of actual voting, men universally accredit to them the aptitude of getting upon the right side of those great moral and quasi-moral questions which are entering more and more into State campaigns.

REV. EDWARD McSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Md.—I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics; and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country. Should she decide to take part in politics, she will help to purify these, and then the vast number of men of intelligence and refinement who now avoid the polls will take a practical interest in good government.

REV. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, of Michigan.—Women have considered it a prime virtue to wholly subordinate themselves and their point of view to man; both because they have been and are economically dependent on men and because they love them—most of all, because they love them and wish to fulfill the ideals of men for women. But never shall we have the truly womanly woman until she is made free to think her thoughts

and look at the world through her own eyes, and add her verdict to that of man upon the things of life which affect her and her children often far more poignantly than they affect him.

REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT, Rochester, N. Y.—Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman, as a woman, from the right.

HON. FRANCIS E. WARREN, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the results are good and not evil.

FRANCES MAULE BJORKMAN.—I am a suffragist, not primarily because I believe that the woman's vote will purify the ballot, and not because I have a sense of humiliation in being classed with infants and idiots, but because in the course of seven years' active newspaper reporting in Denver, Chicago and New York it has been positively demonstrated to me that a vote is a thing worth having.

MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.—We hear little to-day of the "angel" argument, that women are too fine for the coarse, rough work of the world, and should be shielded in hothouses, where not even the wind of heaven should visit them too roughly. Whoever has

worked side by side with women in sanitary commissions and prison boards, has seen them go fearlessly into police courts to secure the protection of families, or into foul wards of hospitals to save human lives, knows that this is not the type of American woman, however it may be the lady of romance. Your women on the boards of charities, in benevolent institutions, in churches, in their daily round of work, may spend health and strength and life in mitigating the effects of evil; but when the question is on removing causes, they have no vote.

DAVID STARR JORDAN, President of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of honest and clean local government, and make our cities centres of sweetness and light, as well as of activity and strength.

DR. CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University.—Woman suffrage will come as a result of the increasing economic independence of women, which will in turn sharpen her intellect, force upon her an interest in the social and economic conditions which are determining her own destiny in so great a measure, and finally give her that self-respect and self-sufficiency which prevent her from being content with the alternate adoration and contempt of the opposite sex.

HON. BRYANT B. BROOKS, Ex-Governor of Wyoming.—I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is certainly no argument which can be made against it.

REV. GEORGE HODGES, Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.—I am in favor of bringing the votes of women to the reinforcement of all good causes.

MRS. CLARENCE H. MACKAY, New York City.—I want women to vote because it will improve the educational system of the whole country.

HON. C. S. THOMAS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—To the bread-winning portion of the sex (female) the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls. Hence, it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient.

EDWIN MARKHAM.—The woman movement of this country is its most significant movement, because it brings human hearts together. We want not the rule of gold, but the Golden Rule. To carry this out in this

world we need the help of the women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.

DOROTHY DIX.—Women should vote, because every question of politics affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust, and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

GEORGE F. HOAR.—We have driven our leading opponent from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obilged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.

MRS. ZERELDA G. WALLACE.—More and more the schools of America are passing under the control of woman, and she has so demonstrated her fitness to teach that this educational reform will not go backward. Then, for the safety of the nation, it must go forward, till, by her enfranchisement, her fitness to be the teacher of America's future citizens will be complete.

HON. L. F. C. GARVIN, Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.—Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of women to vote. If taxa-

tion without representation is tyranny, if government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then the suffrage must be extended to women upon the same terms as to men.

REV. J. W. HAMILTON, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, Boston.—I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.

HON. JOSEPH WALKER, Massachusetts.—Some people believe in limiting the suffrage; I believe in broadening it. I believe that the welfare of the country is far safer in the hands of the ordinary men and women who are up against the hard, cruel facts of life than in the hands of the few of greater wealth and education, perhaps, and supposed to be higher up in the social scale, but who, experience has shown us, are frequently more intent on exploiting than on serving the people.

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—Woman suffrage is not only right, but practical. It tends to elevate. There is not a caucus but is better attended, and by better people, and held in a better place. I have seen the time when a political convention without a disturbance and the drawing of weapons was rare. That time is

past in Colorado, and it is due to the presence of women. Every man now shows that civility which makes him take off his hat and not swear, and deport himself decently when ladies are present.

PROF. SOPHRONISBA BRECKENRIDGE, University of Chicago.—Under our present form of city life, housekeeping has become a public function, and the ballot has become a domestic necessity. The housekeeper must buy milk and meat; she must make the clothing, or buy it ready-made. She needs a vote on the ordinances which control the conditions. She must have something to say about the men who make and enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.

HIS EMINENCE PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN, Late Cardinal of Australia.—The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener.

She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time.

M. J. SAVAGE.—I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote, although I have read almost everything that has been written on the subject, on both sides.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.—As a stockholder, a woman may vote upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock, and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State?

HON. H. V. S. GROESBECK, late Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming.—The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.

DR. H. HEBER NEWTON.—I am glad to express my emphatic conviction, not merely that woman is entitled to franchise, but that the logical issue of American citizenship, as

of Christian justice and morality, is certain to put the ballot in the hands of woman.

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston.—Not only must millions of women now earn their living outside the home, but the housekeeper, as well as they, is more and more dependent upon outside conditions which only a voter can efficiently control, and which every woman who loves her home ought to desire to help control.

RT. REV. JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING, Roman Catholic arch-bishop, Peoria, Ill.—The experiment (of equal suffrage) will be made, whatever our theories and prejudices may be. Women are the most religious, the most moral, and the most sober portion of the American people, and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded.

FLORA ANNA STEELE.—Women's natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line. The essence of military service is the risking of life and the endurance of hardship for the general good. Surely if the long, irksome months ending in pain and danger which go to the making of every citizen were summed up, the grand total of devotion would be with the woman, and not with the man—even in war time.

PROF. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER.—Our cause is universal; its majesty is intrinsic; its logic is unanswerable; its success is sure.

HON. CLARENCE D. CLARK, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Woman suffrage worked with wonderfully good results while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State was put into the constitution. So far I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change.

SIR ROBERT STOUT, Chief Justice of New Zealand.—Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence.

LADY STOUT, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand.—The most marked and beneficial effect of the franchise in New Zealand is that the women are awakening to the responsibilities of motherhood, and consider their living children of more value to the State than those that are peopling the graveyard.

HON. GEORGE FOULDS, Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.—The extension of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. Without being revolutionary, their influence has been on the side of progress and clean government. * * * I should say the almost universal verdict of the people of New Zealand would be that the admission of women to the franchise was not

only right in principle, but satisfactory in practice.

HON. JOHN GEORGE FINDLAY, M. L. C., Attorney General and Colonial Secretary, New Zealand.—The women's franchise in New Zealand has, on the whole, resulted in good to the well-being and progress of the Colony. As regards the use made by women of the vote, you have the statistics of the last elections in New Zealand, and particularly the last Federal Election (Australia), in which it will be found women exercised their vote as freely as the men. I consider that the educational work done by the organized women of the Colony since 1890 has been a great factor in stimulating humanitarian interest.

HON. ROBERT S. VESSEY, Governor of South Dakota.—In my opinion, the suffrage movement is one that will ultimately win. In the first place, I have been unable to find any good reason why men should have the right of suffrage that does not equally apply to women. I have no fear that woman will be made less womanly because of the extension to her of this right, and I do believe that it will materially improve the quality of conscience expressed at the ballot box of the country, and also give to women a just and proper consideration in matters pertaining to legislation. In other words, the success of the movement will accomplish much for our

government by more adequately equalizing justice in the interests of the entire citizenship.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.—There is and can be but one safe principle of government—equal rights to all. Discrimination against any class on account of color, nativity, sex, property, culture, can but embitter and disaffect that class, and thereby endanger the safety of the whole people.

REV. JOSEPH M. GLEASON.—The Catholic Church teaches above all things reverence for women and veneration for motherhood, but there is no danger to the dignity of womanhood or motherhood to be feared from the ballot. The fact that a woman is the mother of sons and daughters will tend to make her more careful in voting for the government under which her children are to be reared. I am looking at the question as a priest of the Catholic Church. We need the women to hold back the forces of corruption and give decency and fair-mindedness a chance. She should be man's equal, not alone in the home, but in the body politic, and she will. You might as well try to stop the torrents of Niagara as to stop equal suffrage.

HON. JAMES H. HAWLEY, Governor of Idaho.—I have stood for women suffrage for forty-one years. Woman exercises the franchise quite as intelligently as man, and with a higher degree of conscientiousness. All our

best women vote, and, by so doing, exert a powerful influence for good in the administration of public affairs.

HON. FRANCIS E. WARREN, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Our women are intelligently active in public affairs, but, withal, as womanly and as devoted to home and family as their sisters in states where women do not vote. Woman suffrage has elevated public morals and been a material factor in maintaining the local good government we enjoy.

Table of Contents

Why Women Should Vote.
By JANE ADDAMS

Objections Answered.
By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Where Women Vote.
By FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

Do You Know?
By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

A Common Sense View of Woman Suffrage.
By JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

Why Women Want to Vote.
By FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

Measuring Up Equal Suffrage.
By GEORGE CREEL and Judge BEN B. LINDSEY. Reprinted from "The Delineator," by Courtesy of the Editors.

Eminent Opinions.

7314

DATE DUE

DATE DUE	JUN 03 '85		
	XXXXXXXX	JAN 0 5 1999	
DATE DUE	NOV 1 '86		
	XXXXXXXX		
	MAY 17 '88		
	NOV 26 1988		
	XXXXXXXX		
	MAR 8 1989		
	NOV 01 1989		
	MAR 31 1990		
	XXXXXXXX	JAN 15 1995	
	XX		
	JAN 16 1992		
	JAN 15 1993		
	JAN 04 1993		

DEMCO NO. 38-298

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

3 9030 00079907 4

ALE
JA
1901
.N352